1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

tree," ratiment (*Kigelia aethiopica*); and *maiyek*, ebonine hair, made, though seldom, in the Nandi way. They also drink a mixture of honey and water called *kobomek*.

Trade and Exchange

The inability of the Dorobo to produce many of the things they need has led to the development of a system of exchange with the Nandi, who till recently were almost the only people with whom they had dealings. Relations between Dorobo and Nandi have been such that, though maintaining their complete independence, the Dorobo have not only obtained goods by trade, but have acquired and assimilated much Nandi culture, including language, clan-names, agriculture, and many material features like dress and ornaments. Their relations are in general friendly, for the Nandi like honey and furs which they get most easily from the Dorobo, and there has been an increasing number of marriages of Dorobo men with Nandi women, as well as of Dorobo women with Nandi men. But neither side takes liberties with the other: the Dorobo fear the physical superiority of the Nandi, and the Nandi fear the close-to-nature life of the Dorobo, as well as a certain mystical force as rain-makers which they attribute to them.

From the Nandi the Dorobo get objects of iron, pottery, beads, tobacco, cattle (see below, p. 61), and the seed of cereals for planting. The Nandi get skins and honey from the Dorobo. There are no special places for trade, but the Dorobo go to the nearest smith or potter or other person who can supply them, and make their bargains. This means a journey into the Nandi Land Unit, but other things can be got from the nearest friendly Nandi. The exchange values in 1939 were:

1 axe for 1 bagful of honey;
1 bundle of tobacco (about 1 lb.) for 1 bagful of honey;
1 arrowhead for 1 gourd full of honey;
1s. worth of trade beads for a gourd full of honey;
1 knife for a day's weeding in the smith's garden;
1 large earthenware pot for 1 large prepared buck skin (usually bush-buck)
1 small earthenware pot for 1 small prepared buck skin (usually duiker);
2 baskets of seed for planting for 1 new basket.

The bag, *matoket*, is made of skin and measures about 8 ins. by 7 ins.; the gourd is about 10 ins. long; the large pot is about 20 ins. high, the small pot about 10 ins. high; and the basket is about 6 ins. deep and 6 ins. wide.

Cattle

The Dorobo interest in cattle is probably due to their long contact with the Nandi; but though they desire cattle, they have not the land for them. Yet they have speculated about cattle inheritance, and by 1939 had worked out theoretical rules which they had scarcely had opportunities of testing. When they were evicted from the forest in 1937 they were officially credited with about 2,000 head of cattle; but no census of either people or stock appears to have been made in preparation for this event, and most of these cattle did not belong to real Dorobo. In 1938–9 the numbers of stock which I counted during the compilation of my census were:

	Cattle	Goats	Dogs
Koret of Kipkoreum ..	25	15	4
Koret of Soosiyo ..	54	19	3
Koret of Kolpui	11	0	0
	90	34	7

Methods of cattle-management are based on those of the Nandi.

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

SOCIAL ORGANIZATION AND POLITICAL STRUCTURE

Social Organization

561 [304] [582] [884] [589]

Life Cycle

Dorobo men pass through three stages: *getik*, uncircumcised boys; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *apaiisiek*, elders. Boys are circumcised between the ages of 15 and 18 years, and may marry at any time after circumcision when their circumstances allow. Some men in fact never marry at all, but live alone, getting occasional help from women in the settlement, and depending for sexual satisfaction on surreptitious affairs with wives of age-mates. Women are first *tipik*, girls; then *yosotik*, married women; and finally, when they begin to look old, *engilokisiek*, old women. Girls marry soon after they have been circumcised.

602 [171]

Kinship and Behaviour

The existing Dorobo relationship system, *tiliet*, is structurally similar to that of the Nandi, and uses a number of Nandi terms; but it is less regular and includes in the *tiliet* a larger number of persons than does the Nandi. Moreover, the collective term *macokor* (which I did not find in use as a true relationship term in Nandi) is used by the Dorobo as the proper term for a number of people terminologically differentiated by the Nandi.

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Within the *tiliet* the chief terms are: In the third ascending generation, all males are *macokor* and all females *makikat;* in the second ascending generation, all males are *kuko* or *akui* and all females *koko*.

In the first ascending generation, the terms are: *papa* = father, father's brothers, and mother's sister's husband; *eiyo* = mother, mother's sisters, and father's brother's wife; *pukot* = father's sister; *konyit* = father's sister's husband; *mama* = mother's brother and his wife. Terms used by women are *sindet* = father's sister and father's brother's wife; *apulaiyo* = mother's brother; *eiyo* = mother's brother's wife; and *konyit* = mother's sister's husband.

In a man's own generation, his brothers, sisters, and mother's sister's son and daughter are *kesenda;* mother's brother's son and daughter, *mama;* and the son and daughter of his father's brother and father's sister are *macokor*. Women's terms which differ from these are: *apulaiyo* = mother's brother's son and daughter; *eiyo* = mother's sister's son and daughter.

In the first descending generation, *apaa* includes son, daughter, brother's son and daughter; *mama*, sister's son and daughter, and mother's brother's son and daughter; *macokor*, father's brother's children's children, and father's sister's children's children. In the second descending generation, both sexes are *akui*, except mother's brother's children's children's children, which are *mama;* and mother's sister's children's children's children, *kesenda*.

Among affines, wife's father is *pamogo;* wife's mother, *poker;* wife's brother, *konyit* and his wife, *poker;* wife's sister *pukot* and her husband, *hipukotiet;* wife's brother's son and wife's sister's son, *apaa;* wife's brother's daughter and wife's sister's daughter, *pakuo*. Husband's father is *pakuo* and his mother, *poker;* husband's brother *konyit* and his wife, *sindet;* husband's sister, *hamati* and her husband, *poker;* husband's brother's children, *lakuet;* and husband's sister's children, *apulaiyo*.

602 604

In the *tiliet* it is the *father's brother* who stands out and occupies the special place in family life that the mother's brother does among the Nandi; not a few Dorobo did not know their mother's brother's name. Owing to the nature of Dorobo life, the father's brother is continually in contact with his brother's children, and his relations with his nephews are even closer than those of the Nandi *mama* with his nephews.

li Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

A striking difference between the Dorobo and Nandi systems is that whereas Nandi may not marry any person in the *tiliot*, the Dorobo were insistent that a man might marry his father's sister's daughter's daughter, the girl whom he calls *macokor*, a person definitely in the *tiliot*. This type of marriage does not seem to occur now; but did in the past. Marriage with a wife's sister is considered objectionable.

Behaviour patterns may be summed up in a statement made by a Dorobo that "a man does not use bad language to his father, though his father may beat him as a child, nor does he use bad language to his father's brother; he does not speak of dirty things, nor of sexual matters, to his mother and his mother's sister, for it is bad to do so; but we are all on terms of friendliness and 'clean fun.'" Generally speaking, seniority is a matter of age, except with respect to the father's brother. Between a man and members of his own generation considerable latitude is allowed; but elders must always be shown respect. Where the claims of relatives are concerned, the amount of contact is important, for even a close relative who lives a long way off and is seldom seen cannot expect and will not receive so much respect as one who lives nearby and is well known. On a husband's part, there should be complete avoidance of his wife's mother, though this may be relaxed by degrees as he gets older; conversation with the wife's father should be limited to greetings.

Pre-marital Sex-life

Owing to the small number of Dorobo and the consequent shortage of women for wives, men have little in the way of pre-marital sex-life; and if a man does manage to acquire a lover, he often marries her.

Bridewealth

This varies according to circumstances, and Dorobo statements about it are conflicting. In 1927 it was said to consist of large quantities of honey-wine and of monkey-skin caps; but in 1939 the standard was one cow (with calf if still suckling), one ox, and four goats. The number of goats varied in the recorded cases from two to six, and in one case the cattle amounted to four oxen. A man also gives his father-in-law presents of honey-wine and a fur cap or two; thus marriage is more of a drain on a man's resources than formerly.

Betrothal

A man chooses his wife himself, and arranges the preliminaries with the girl's father during two visits at which he gives him presents of honey. After the second visit the father calls the clan council together and publicly gives his consent to the marriage.

Marriage

The marriage ceremonies are conducted by an elder known for the time as *patum*, who brings the bride to her future husband's home, where the guests are already assembled feasting. The girl enters the hut in which the ceremony is to take place, and in the presence of witnesses the *patum* gives her to the man, saying, *Keipuncia cicoio*, "you now belong to this man." He then binds some *sekutiet* grass on the man's right wrist, and an old woman binds some of the same on the girl's right wrist. They are now married. The *patum* then sets up an erection of *sekutiet* grass called *tumdo* which is smeared over with cow-dung; this the wife has to knock down and tread upon. After this, the pair are left alone, and the marriage is consummated. Next day the *tumdo* is trodden into the floor and plastered over with cow-dung, for it must not be seen. The pair are then shaved, he by the *patum*, she by the old woman, and the hair is buried in cow-dung under an erection of sticks called *kovosiot*, which is set up in great secrecy by the *patum*. It is essential

1:Huntingford E-4, 5 (1938-1939) 1953 FL6 Dorobo FL6

TABLE OF CLANS

Clan name	Corresponding Nandi name, used also by Dorobo	Source	Dorobo totem
Kapeshoi *	Kipkokos Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane
Moi *	Moi	Nandi clan	crested crane buffalo small red bird
Kipieken *	Kipieken	Nandi clan	baboon
Kipamui *	Kipamui	Nandi clan	duiker
Kapil *	Kipsirkoi	Nandi clan	bush pig
Toiyoi *	Toiyoi	Nandi clan	rain
Korapor *	Tungo	Nandi clan	hyena
Talai *	Talai	Nandi clan	lion

The three reputed clans are: Kipongoi,* corresponding to the Nandi Kamwaike, totem partridge; Kipasiso,* corresponding to the Nandi Kipasiso, totem the sun; and Kogot, apparently a Dorobo name, totem snake.

(All names marked * are of *Nandi* origin.)

The clan is the basis of political organization, and people tend to live in clan settlements under the control of a clan council. This council consists of all the old men of the clan. People meet at the house of a clansman who, upon notice being given to him, prepares honey-wine or beer, for the business of the council is done in an informal way with a jar of honey-wine as if it were a social gathering, which in a sense it is. Business is done first and the drinking follows. The council deals with clan matters, including disputes between clansmen, boundaries of hunting areas, homicide of a clansfellow, incest, and the preliminary arrangements when a clansman has killed a member of another clan. Disputes are settled by discussion, and the result is announced by the council leader, *kiruokindet*, who is not necessarily the oldest member of the clan, but someone fairly senior who acquires his position in much the same way as does the Nandi *poiyot ap kokuet* (p. 32).

The Koret

Superimposed on the clan areas is a system of districts (*korosuek*, sing. *koret*) possibly due to Nandi influence. Each district includes several clan settlements, and has a council which is formed of the elders and circumcised men of all the clan settlements within it; the council sits under a tree (there are no special council trees) in an open space from which the bush has been cleared. The function of the *koret* council is to handle inter-clan affairs. It has a leader, also known as *kiruokindet*, whose position and duties resemble those of the leader of the clan council, and he acquires his office in the same way. There was no chief of the horde.

The forest is divided into nine *korosuek*, named (from north to south), Cepurur, Kelpui, Sirua, Kipkorom, Sosoiyo, Meteitei, Mokopic, Puret, and Sanalo. In 1939 only three of these were occupied: Kelpui, Kipkorom, and Sosoiyo (which had by then been amalgamated with Meteitei).

Legal Sanctions

Crimes against which primary sanctions are directed include incest, witchcraft, and disobedience to the council. Secondary sanctions deal with trespass, theft, homi-

2: Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
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D 539 supported the roof with his fore-paws, for he had no tusks. Whereupon the wart-hog said: 'You are stronger than me. Hold up the roof with all your might while I run out for some timber to prop it up.' The lion, flattered, agreed, and the wart-hog ran out and quickly made his escape."

(History does not relate how long the lion remained holding up the roof before he realised that he had been duped by the cunning wart-hog. This story is very popular and is always received with roars of laughter.)[1]

D [539] M 539 829

The Dorobo plays the part of buffoon or low comedian in many Masai folk-tales.[2] The Dorobo themselves are well aware of this and regard it as a huge joke. A tale told by a Masai in which a Dorobo figures in an absurd light generally elicits hearty applause from the Dorobo present. I select the following example.

M 539

The Dorobo and the Cow.—The Dorobo is an impatient man. Once he was given a cow, and some days afterwards this cow was crossed by a bull. The Dorobo waited a month. Then he waited another month. He tried to milk the cow, but no milk would come. He thereupon said: "What sort of a cow is this? It will not give birth; it has no milk; it is altogether unsatisfactory." He then went away to sleep, saying: "Perhaps it will have given birth by the time it is morning." In the morning, all was as it had been before and the efforts of the Dorobo to milk the cow met with no more success. The Dorobo, who was determined at least to obtain milk, thereupon seized his knife and split up the cow's udder (for all Dorobo are impatient men), but no milk came, and his knife penetrating too deeply, the intestines of the cow fell out and it died. The Dorobo was very surprised and said: "This is a bad kind of cow and I do not understand it." He then proceeded to eat the meat until it was all finished.

D 191 538

I was surprised to discover so little resemblance between *Mósiro* folk-lore and folk-tales and those of the Nandi as given in Sir Claud Hollis's book. There is more affinity between the *Mósiro* and the Masai in this respect. This may perhaps be explained by the comparatively long period the *Mósiro* must

[1] [Some Bantu tribes tell it of the Hare.—A. W.]
[2] For further examples of this see Hollis.

2; Maguire G-5 (ca. 1926) 1927-28
FL6 Dorobo FL6

have lived in the country of the Kitēto Masai, since they are stated to have been the precursors of the Masai in this part of the world.

I was unable to elicit any folk-tales from the *Aramanik*, who say that they know no stories or legends except those they have learned from the Masai. It is possible that further efforts in this direction might meet with better success. The *Aramanik* are not as friendly or as ready to discuss their own affairs as are the cheerful, happy-go-lucky *Mósiro*.

Many Masai superstitions and superstitious practices are to be found among the Dorobo. There are, however, certain customs and observances of a superstitious nature practised only by the Dorobo. Of the following three examples, the last two given are in this category.

The *Mósiro* will not kill a python. They say it is a hunter of meat, as are they themselves. Furthermore, if it be killed, the ground where it dies and where its blood is split is ever afterwards fatal to cattle grazing there.[1] No explanation is given of this, and it would seem worthy of note that the Dorobo are exceptionally quick and skilful killers of all other snakes.

When following a native path or a road, if a Dorobo comes to the place where the track of a snake crosses the path, he will never step over it without first kicking up the sand or earth in order to break the continuity of the snake's track. This is done in order to avert evil, and is stated to be the only efficacious way of ensuring that the snake in question will not eventually kill the man who has crossed its path.[2]

If a Dorobo has been robbed and if the thief cannot be found, the following procedure is sometimes resorted to. The man who has suffered the loss heats his sword in the fire until it is red and then, plunging it into the earth, he says: "The thief shall die to-morrow." This is regarded as a very bad practice and is seldom indulged in, as the injured party, no matter how much he may have lost, knows that he will become extremely unpopular as a result of his action.

It seems likely that in a few years' time there will be no *Balañga* and no *Kinyalañgat* Dorobo. As I have said elsewhere, it is now almost impossible to find *Balañga* or *Kinya-*

[1] See Hollis: *The Nandi*, p. 80.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

623 [687] that continual disobedience is punished by expulsion from the tribe. They described their office in the following terms:—

Ke'ruoch figalek si kesich che miyach ak che
We-take-counsel the-matters that we-may-get which-are good and which-are

[539] yach, si ko-kas piik tukul. Ingoesio chiit'
bad that they-may-understand (-obey) the-people all. If-he-refuses the-man

ake tukul, ke-oon, si kwa emet ake.
other any, we-expel (-him) that he-may-go the-country other.

["We take counsel that we may find what is good, and leave what is bad, that all men may obey. If any refuse, he is driven out of our country."]

IV.—RELIGIOUS BELIEFS, MAGIC, AND MEDICINE.

771 *Religion.*

776 The religious beliefs of the Dorôbo are even vaguer than those of the Nandi. They believe in a god Asista (N.), who is the sun and masculine, and who has a sister Arawa* (N.), the moon.[1] No offerings are made to either, but the men pray [782] to both before going on a hunt. The prayers seem to have one form:—

Asis,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
God, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] or,

Arawa,* ipiiy'-ech omdit.
Moon, fill-us-with the-food.

[715] They believe also in ghosts and spirits (*oiindet*, pl. *oiik*, N.) which are good and [782] bad. Prayers are addressed to the good oiik (*oiik che miyach*) to obtain food and health, *e.g.*:—

Oiik, ipiiy'-ech omdit.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-food.

[539] Oiik, ipiiy'-ech sapot.
The-spirits, fill-us-with the-health.

[782] Libations of honey and water (*lagomek*)[2] and of honey-wine (*kipketlaik*, N.) are offered to the good oiik, in order to obtain food and health. These libations are made from gourds (*komda*), and while they are poured out, the formula,

[539] Ipiiy'-ech omdit si kiipiiye sapot.
Fill-us-with the-food that we-be-filled-with health,

is pronounced.

[171] [1] I have not come across this particular relationship before in the Nilo-Hamitic group; though other tribes of this group hold that the sun and moon are related, or are husband and wife (the latter Masai and Nandi). (*See* Beech, *The Suk*, for the ideas of the Suk, Enjemusi, Turkana, etc.)

[2] The Nandi offer milk.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

Names.

Before a child is born, the spirit of an ancestor is called upon, and the child receives the name of that ancestor, which he retains throughout his life.[1] At circumcision, a man becomes Arap (anum), "Son of (So-and-so)," *e.g.* a boy named Kipoo, whose father's name is Kiminiñg, becomes Kipoo arap (Ki)miniñg, and is known as Arap (Ki)miniñg. Both the masculine and femine names are mostly Nandi.

Circumcision. (Tum.* N.)

The customs connected with circumcision seem to be very similar to those of the Nandi. Boys are circumcised at intervals of about ten years; the ceremony takes place after harvest, about October, when extra food is bought from the Nandi; the actual operation is performed in the early morning. In the case of girls, a circumcision is held when there are sufficient girls in a district of an age to be circumcised; only the clitoris is removed. Circumcision, as among the Nandi, and in ancient Egypt, is a form of initiation into manhood or womanhood, and is preparatory to marriage.

Marriage.

It is usual for Dorôbo to have only one wife, as they are unable to support more. The price of a wife is paid chiefly in honey-wine. Before marriage the suitor gives to the girl's father as much honey-wine "as four women can carry." He also gives the parents honey-wine year by year after marriage, and he must give the father caps (*sambut*, pl. *sambuisiek*) made of the skin of the tisiet monkey (*Cercopithecus albigularis*). Nowadays, if a Dorôbo has any cattle, he sometimes takes a second wife.

Death.

When a Dorôbo dies, his body is taken out into the forest, about 200 to 300 yards from his hut, and left for the hyænas (*kimaroket*) to devour.

Miscellaneous.

When a Dorôbo thanks a person, he spits in the direction of the person, with or without saying "*Kongoi*," N. ("Thanks").

The Dorôbo call each other in the forest by blowing horns of water-buck (*ikondit*, N.).

Salutations:—

(*a*) Of greeting:—To men, "*Sopai*"; answer, "*Chaw-ke*" (health). To girls and women, "*Tâkwenyu*"; answer, "*Igô.*"

(*b*) Of farewell:—"*Saisere*" (good-bye); answer, "*Saisere ok inye*" (good-bye to thee), or, "*Saisere ok okwek*" (good-bye to you).

Except "*Chaw-ke*" as the answer to "*Sopai*," these are the same as in Nandi.

[1] The Nandi also give children "spirit-names" (*kainet ap oiik*), which, however, are seldom used.

3:Huntingford E-5 (1921-1928)1929 FL6 Dorobo FL6

one or two features which are worth mentioning; but these are far more likely to be due to environment than to be true racial distinctions. 142

The Dorôbo are usually small in stature, averaging about 5 ft. 6 ins.; this, however, may be accounted for, because, like the Wambuti (Congo Pygmies), they are forest-dwellers.

The Dorôbo, like the Nandi and other Nilo-Hamitic peoples, are dolichocephalic, although not markedly so, and in some cases even inclined to mesocephaly. Their skulls tend to slope up from a rather flat frontal bone to the occipital, giving one rather the impression of very slight artificial cranial deformation. Unfortunately, we were unable to obtain any specimens of their crania; but, even if we had, I believe it would have been almost impossible to distinguish them from any Nandi specimens. [144]

For a black race their noses are narrow, being distinctly leptorrhine, with a well-formed bridge; this may be accounted for by the fact that, although they live actually on the Equator, they live at an altitude of from 8,000 to 9,000 ft. in the dense forest, where it never really gets hot, and at night it is bitterly cold; hence they show very little tendency towards the true platyrrhine nose, so intimately associated with the tropics. On the whole, the lips of the Dorôbo appeared somewhat thinner than those of the Nandi. [131]

Colour of Skin.—The younger children, who presumably have never been out of the forest, were of a distinctly lighter colour than the average (*cf.* Congo Pygmies). Otherwise the Dorôbo were of the same colour as the Nandi.

That the Dorôbo are habitually bearded, and have hair on their bodies and legs, is an absolute fallacy. It is true, however, that several of the old men whom we met had beards, but no more so than their Nandi neighbours. We met none with hair on their bodies or legs.[1]

Hair.—In hair classification the Dorôbo are typical Ulotrichi.

Artificial Deformation and Mutilation.—The Dorôbo, like most Nilo-Hamites, pierce and elongate the lobes of the ears, and it was interesting to note that, in a great many cases, among the old men, these lobes had been broken by being caught by branches in the forest. 304 [191]

The Dorôbo usually extract the two middle incisor teeth of the lower jaw. They also practise circumcision and clitoridectomy.

[1] We emphasize this point, because there seems to be an idea that the Dorôbo are a "bearded" people, *e.g.*, Mr. Hobley in *Man*, 1905, 21, p. 39. Whatever other sections of the Dorôbo may be, the Kámelílo-Kápchepkendi certainly are not more bearded than any other tribe. [114]

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The senior *macokor* are seldom alive in a man's lifetime, and all those in the 3rd ascending generation were dead before Pilo was born. The terms therefore are merely of reference, and that this is so is emphasized by the word *makihat*, "one who is not greeted". 603

On the right hand side of the genealogy of Pilo are given the terms used by his elder sister Kicoti, who married a Dorobo of the *Kimnyihe* age named Manyepai, where we find additional groups: 601

The first ascending generation is now divided into two: (A) the father of Kicoti, his brothers and sister and their spouses, who are *papa* and *sindet*; and (B) her mother, her mother's sister and her children, grandchildren and great grandchildren, and her mother's brother's wife, all of whom are *eiyo*. (A female *eiyo*'s husband is *konyit*, and a male *eiyo*'s wife is *pukot*, except that Seratet, the mother's brother, is *apulaiyo*.) The father's sister has the same term as his brother's wife, *sindet*.

Kicoti calls her brother and sister *kesenda*, just as Pilo calls her *kesenda*; but whereas Pilo calls his own and Coimim's children *apaa*, and the children of both his sisters, *mama*, Kicoti calls her own children *lakuet* and those of her brothers and sister *senge*, and the grandchildren and great grandchildren of her mother's sister *eiyo* (which latter Pilo calls *kesenda*).

The mother's brother group is called by four terms instead of one, and the mother's brother himself and his children are not *mama* but *apulaiyo*; his grandchildren and great grandchildren are *akui*; and Kicoti's sister's children are *senge*, while her own are *lakuet*: all these are called *mama* by Pilo.

The two brothers of Manyepai, for whom Pilo has no term (he would refer to them as *poiyot*, "old man", and if necessary define their position) are called *konyit* by Kicoti, and the wife of Kimôken her husband's brother is *sindet*. Her husband's father and mother are *pakuo* and *pôker*, though outside the *tiliet* for Pilo. Her husband's father's father is outside the *tiliet* for her. As regards the use of *konyit* and *pukot* for spouses, the female terminology is the same as the male for *macokor* and *kesenda*, but

the wife of an *apulaiyo* (m. br.) is always *eiyo*;
the wife of an *apulaiyo* (own generation) is always *pukot*;
the husband of an *apulaiyo* (own. gen) is always *konyit*;
the wife of an *eiyo* is always *pukot*; and
the husband of an *eiyo* (except own mother) is always *konyit*.

Contrast with the Nandi system

The Dorobo relationship system is much less regular than that of the Nandi, and has a greater mixture of terms. Moreover it includes a greater number of people than the Nandi, which counts the following as outside the *tiliet*: 601 171

A. Father's mother's brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).
B. Mother's parents' brothers and sisters and their children (Dorobo, *akui*).

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

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● 191

C. Children and grandchildren of mother's brother's son and daughter (Dorobo, *mama*).

D. Children and grandchildren of mother's sister's son and daughter (Dorobo, *kesenda*).

A Nandi, therefore, may marry any person in groups C and D provided they are not of his clan.

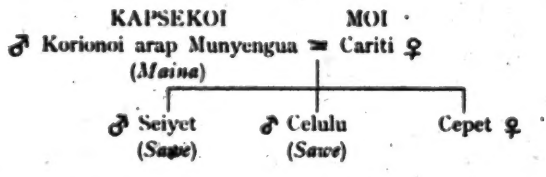
The children of the father's brother and father's sister are *tupet* and *mama* in Nandi, and their children are *lakuet* and *akui*; whereas in Dorobo all are called *macokor*. The marriage with the father's sister's daughter's daughter is not allowed in Nandi, where there is no relaxation of the rule against marriage within the *tiliet*. But, on the other hand, the Nandi has a certain number of people who are biologically related to him though not classed as relatives, and therefore potential wives. The Nandi say that there are really no terms for the third ascending generation, as a man never sees them; but if it should be necessary to speak of them, the terms *kuko* (masc.) and *senge* (fem.) are used, whereas the corresponding Dorobo terms are *macokor* and *makikat*.

III. The Family and Behaviour

1. Family life

594 Dorobo life and social structure are based on the elementary family within the clan, the family being a unit consisting of father, mother, and children. The elementary family is sometimes enlarged into the domestic
596 family, which is a group of people based on an elementary family living in one homestead and containing more than one parent, i. e. an elementary family with one or both of the husband's parents. A further development is the extended patrilocal family, where two or more elementary families related by genealogy or adoption live together as a defined unit.

594 A typical elementary family living in the forest in Sosoiyo was the following, consisting of a man, his wife, and their three children[9]:



596 A domestic family living on the edge of the forest at Timopo comprised the following people: a man, his mother, his wife, and his children:

[9] In the genealogical diagrams, words in capitals indicate clans, and words in brackets age-sets.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1951 FL6 Dorobo FL6

867 868 The parts played by the grandfather or grandmother, and by the father's brother and his wife are directed largely towards instruction in behaviour and morality, though a young paternal uncle may often help in teaching boys the elements of woodcraft and hunting. And although the father and mother teach their children to distinguish between right and wrong, and how to behave to their relatives, the grandparents in particular have a good deal to do with this aspect of education.

614 867 The part played by clansmen as educators is in general limited, for it depends upon the type of settlement and the number of them with whom the child is able to have contact. Where the settlement is a purely family affair there will be no clansmen immediately at hand, and it is only in clan settlements that their influence can be at all effective. At Kelpui there was in 1938 a settlement consisting of two elementary families and four unmarried clansmen; and at Ndoroton a widow with two small children could turn to five adult clansmen for help in bringing up her children, as well as to three other widows and a young girl. In such circumstances children will have more to do with clansmen than with relatives. This is very different from the Nandi, who do not live in clan settlements and among whom clansmen are much less important than relatives in these matters.

2. The Age-Set system

561 In all forms of training, a proper standard of behaviour is insisted upon, because without due attention to this, no cohesion of clan or family is possible, and hence there can be no horde solidarity. Theoretical ties of kinship cannot last if the behaviour of members towards each other is not carefully promoted and strictly regulated, and so behaviour is the keystone of social life. It must be considered not only from the point of view of a man's dealings with his relatives, but with respect to the different generations with which he comes in contact, and the effect of the age-set system on these relationships must therefore be taken into account. Age-sets and kinship rules may actually be in conflict, and so it is necessary before going any further into the subject of behaviour to see how the age-set system works among the Dorobo.

[571] [571] Age-sets, *ipinda*, plur. *ipinuakik*, are an Hamitic institution adopted by the Nandi and Masae, and borrowed from the Nandi by the Dorobo. The principle of the system is that the males of the tribe or horde are divided into a number of groups or sets of individuals whose ages all fall within certain limits, and the sets are not progressive like the age-grades or stages through which the individual passes from birth to death. Thus a Dorobo man passes through the successive stages of boy, circumcised man, and old man; and a woman through those of girl and woman. But age-sets are more than this: for a man is born into a set, and in that set he remains all his life irrespective of his age in years; women, moreover, [562] do not have age-sets, but on marriage refer to themselves as belonging to their husbands' age-sets.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

in material culture. The Nandi keep cattle, till the soil, make pottery, and work iron, none of which the Dorobo did; and they have passed on to the Dorobo a number of things which have now become an inseparable part of Dorobo culture without receiving much from the Dorobo in return. Although the Nandi have never lived in the forest, they occupied and grazed their cattle till 1906 on the open ground to the west and southwest of the forest — the original Nandi divisions of Kamelilo and Kapcepkendi — and so contact was inevitable. There has been no fusion of the Dorobo with the Nandi; the few intermarriages have not resulted in anything like even partial fusion, and Dorobo who have lived for years in Nandi, like Arap Ngamngam and his sons, are regarded as nothing but Dorobo. Although KRAPF said that the "Wamau people are Wandurobo whose duty it is to hunt elephants for the Masai" [1], there are no indications whatever that the Kipkurerek ever had any "duties" to perform for the Nandi, and the occasional employment of a Dorobo as circumcisor by Nandi or Masae does not constitute "subjection". The Dorobo and Nandi have in fact lived their own separate lives, though they now share a good many cultural features which have been voluntarily adopted by the Dorobo.

A good deal, in fact, of their existing culture has been adopted from the Nandi, and among these adopted features we may include the following:

1. Clan names and possibly the totem idea, though not the clan system.
2. The method of dividing the country into districts or parishes (the Nandi *koret* system), and the resulting *koret* council (which is the basis of Nandi government).
3. Some relationship terms.
4. The age-set system, and circumcision.
5. Certain features of material culture like dress, ornaments, the use of iron objects, pottery and tobacco, and a certain type of hut. It is these features which give the Dorobo a superficial but misleading resemblance to the Nandi.
6. Language and time-reckoning.

The existence of Nandi clan-names, relationship terms, and time-reckoning may be accounted for by the use of the Nandi language. Circumcision and age-sets are definitely an Hamitic feature, and obviously borrowed from the Nandi complete with names and intervals. But the clan system is so fundamental a part of Dorobo organization that it must have existed before contact was made with the Nandi.

From the Dorobo point of view, their reception of Nandi culture may be expressed thus: Certain elements forced on them by economic pressure, like agriculture and stock, lead to economic advantage, as of course does the voluntary adoption of iron weapons and tools. Female dress and ornaments adopted voluntarily lead to prestige, while clan names, relationship

[1] Vocabulary of the Engutuk Eloikob (1854), p. 28. KRAPF seems to have been the first to suggest that the Dorobo were serfs of the Masae, a notion which I think is just as mistaken with regard to other Dorobo as it is to the Kipkurerek.

[Text continues on p. 126 -- Analyst]

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

These of course are relatively small settlements; but there were more people living round and inside the forest in 1927, and a number of them has been scattered owing to the effect of the 1937 move. The manner in which clan settlements are distributed may be seen from the map.

8. The Koret

The methods by which primitive people govern themselves and maintain law and order can usually be studied in operation, even if they are not immediately obvious to the casual visitor. The observation of concrete facts and events can elucidate even the uncentralized organizations that are so difficult to understand, and so common in East Africa, where there may often be no chiefs, and no visible authority but groups of old men. Some of the more important peoples of Kenya, like the Masae, Nandi, and Akamba had systems of this type, and the Dorobo also were similarly organized. But in the case of the Dorobo the difficulties in the way of investigation were greatly increased as a result of the move of 1937, an action which it was hoped would place the Dorobo in more favourable conditions and increase their chances not only of cultural advancement, but of ultimate survival; and in 1939 I was told that no *koret* council had been held since before 1937. I was therefore unable to observe this aspect of Dorobo life, and the account of their district organization that follows is based on their own statements. Information was obtained from a number of senior Dorobo, and it was possible to check their statements to a certain extent, so that taken in conjunction with the information I collected in 1927 the somewhat slight and unavoidably incomplete picture is, I think, correct as far as it goes.

The Dorobo are divided into three age-grades: *apaiisiek*, elders; *murenik*, circumcised men; and *uetik*, boys. The *apaiisiek* and *murenik* are those who take part in public affairs; *uetik* have no voice in them. Women, too, though they have the grades of *engitokisiek*, old women; *yosotik*, married women; and *tipik*, girls; have no official share in public affairs, however much influence they may have at home over their husbands and relatives. Neither they nor boys may attend council meetings, unless they happen to be major participants in some affair, as for instance, when a widow accuses someone of an offence against her.

The Dorobo divide their forest country into a number of districts called *koret*, pl. *korosuek*. The names of nine districts are recorded, and these are, from north to south:

1. Cepurur, on the northern edge of the forest.
2. Kelpui: the NW corner of the forest.
3. Sirua: south of Kelpui.
4. Kipkorom: from Sirua to the SW corner of the forest.
5. Sosoiyo: east of Kipkorom.
6. Meteitei: between the forest and the Meteitei river.
7. Mokopic: east of Kipkorom.
8. Puret: east of Sirua.
9. Sangalo: east of Sirua.

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FL6 Dorobo FL6

The thunder, *Ilet*, is he who produces rain, and the rainbow, *cemsisirist*, is his arm, *se naiyo ɲik*, which draws up water for "him". Long ago, according to a Dorobo myth, *Ilet* was a man, and one day a Dorobo met him standing on a rock on Tindiret Hill. And because the Dorobo thought him bad, for he brought mist which hid the sun and spoiled the hunting, he shot *Ilet* with a poisoned arrow, and so *Ilet* fled thundering to the sky, where he has been ever since.

Another Dorobo myth tells that once there lived on the earth some elephants and a Dorobo, and *Ilet* lived with them. One day the Dorobo was hungry and made poison from the *keliot* bush [6]. In the night he stuck a poisoned arrow into one of the elephants, and in the morning it was dead. When *Ilet* saw it, he said: "Who has been killing my donkeys?" The Dorobo cut up the dead elephant and dried the meat, and thus had food for many months. When it was finished he killed another elephant in the same way, and again *Ilet* said: "Who is killing my donkeys?" Then the Dorobo said to him: "I killed them, because I was hungry". Then *Ilet* said to himself: "I am afraid. If I stay here, the Dorobo will kill me too". So he called out to *Asista* to take him up to the sky, and he left the Dorobo with the elephants and went up to the sky. And to this day the Dorobo kill elephants with *keliot* poison, like that man of old [7].

Besides *Asista*, *Arasa*, and *Ilet*, the other inhabitants of the Unseen World are the spirits, which are of two kinds, those of the dead, who are on the whole good, and other spirits, which have never been human and are evil. Both are called *cesowiloi* [8], and this term includes the beings called *oiik* by the Nandi, the spirits of the dead, and those called *musambuanik*, the evil spirits. Both these words are used by the Dorobo. One statement made about them was to the effect that *musambuanik kopotok oiik, akenge tukul, kikure cesowiloi*, "the *musambuanik* are not different from the *oiik*, we call them both *cesowiloi*", because though the *musambuanik* are always bad, the *oiik* can at times be bad too. Nevertheless, the Dorobo draw a distinction between the two kinds, and refer to them as *oiik* (the good) and *musambuanik* [9] (the bad).

The spirits of the dead live in the *koret aɲ cesowiloi* which is underground. "We haven't been there", said Arap Cepsuku, "so we don't know anything about it". But the spirits are there, and they come thence from time to time to visit the living, not only in dreams to pregnant women, but actually into people's huts, to which they travel inside the bodies of snakes. When a snake comes into a hut at night, it is not killed, but some honey is offered to it with the words: *Ui, Anum, i oiindet*, "Go away, So-and-so, for

[6] Acocanthera Schimperi.

[7] It will be noticed that there is a similarity between this and the Nandi myth given by HOLLIS, Nandi, p. 111, and that the myths printed in JRAI 57. 1927. p. 448 and HOLLIS, Masai, p. 266 are of a similar pattern. In the latter, the man is a Dorobo.

[8] The full form of this word is *cesowilo* (*cesowilet*), pl. *cesowiloi* (*cesowilik*). It seems to be the same word as the *cesoloi* which MASSAM gives as the Keyo word for both good and evil spirits (Cliff Dwellers of Kenya, 1927).

[9] This word, which the Dorobo have borrowed from the Nandi, has in turn been borrowed by the latter from the Bantu Kavirondo *umusambwa*, "spirit".

5:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLÁ Dorobo FLÁ

A general statement made by one elder was that evil spirits cause illness, and good spirits cure it, which in the light of the total of what we know of Dorobo beliefs is more or less a reasonable summary, even though the good spirits can also bring illness. But the fact is that the good spirits are believed to be able to do both good and evil, and that the commission of public delicts reacts on them, so that, in the words of a Dorobo elder, "such things are not done, because they are bad, for the spirits do not like them".

It will be noticed that there is a good deal of similarity between Dorobo and Nandi religion [1], and there can be little doubt that much, though not all of it, has been borrowed from the Nandi along with other culture elements. It is, I think, necessary to mention this, in case anyone should be tempted to find 'parallels' which in reality do not exist. Dorobo religious beliefs are mainly not a parallel growth, but directly borrowed, and the resemblance to those of the Nandi will therefore be very strong both in general and in detail.

[1] As described e.g. in my booklet "The Nandi". (Peoples of Kenya Series.) Nairobi 1944.

4:Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1953 FLA Dorobo FLA

eastern part of the area and towards Londiani. Monkeys and pigs are found both in and outside the forest; leopards live on the edge, and lions are still occasionally met with in the open country near the forest. Antelopes are still found, but they are not so plentiful as they used to be.

Honey is produced in honey-barrels. This constitutes a special department of Dorobo life, and will be described in §3 below.

Wild vegetable foods which grow in and round the forest are eaten both cooked and raw as relishes or additions to the staple diet of meat and cereals; the task of collecting vegetable food is usually performed by the women. Recorded wild foods eaten are:

Fruit of the *sinetik*, which are something like white currants, dried in the sun and eaten raw.
Fruit of the plant *mmoneyat*, rubus rigidus.
Fruit of the *lemeiyoot*, nimmia americana.
Fruit of the *sesowiet*, Musa ensete, the wild banana.
Leaves of the *siwet*, gynandria cordomanis, nettle.
Sap of the wild banana, eaten in place of what the Nandi call *kimiet* or 'porridge'.

Banana sap is collected by sticking a flat piece of wood into an incision made in the stem of the tree; a receptacle is hung on the end of the wood and left there for the sap to drip into it. The fruit of the wild banana (a very poor substitute for the cultivated kind) is placed on the drying tray (*saiwet*) over the fire till it is roasted by the heat, and is then broken up with two stones and chewed; it is very hard. Tobacco is bought from the Nandi.

Before trade salt was obtainable through the Nandi, the Dorobo made a substitute from the leaves of the *tepesyeet* bush (*zanthia integrifolia*), or of the *sawayaat* tree. Leaves were burned, and the ashes collected in a suitable receptacle, a little water was poured on them and mixed, and the resulting liquid was added to food as needed. Some of the Bantu Kavirondo used to make a similar substitute for salt.

Intoxicating drink is chiefly made of honey, though now a little alcoholic beer is made in the Nandi manner. The Dorobo method of making *kipkirisik* or *kemsik ap lo*, "honey-wine", is as follows. As a fermenting agent, the seed-pods of the *sutiwet* tree (*kigelia aethiopica* or the sausage tree), which may be as much as 2 feet long and four inches thick, are boiled till quite soft when they are cut into strips and put into the honey to make it ferment. A Dorobo description of the process of making the drink is this:

Kiwaa ratik, kipkele mwai ai kobwor;
They are taken the seed-pods, they are boiled on the fire that they may be soft.
kiwaa ilooto ai kipkele tukuk ee sowiwet ko
they are washed in the river that they may be hot the things which are dirty of
kepsomboot. Kiwa ai kayomio. Kilindo [illegible]
they become soft. They are put in the sun that they may dry. They are put into the pot
ole mii kemsiet ptoo, ai kemsonik, kilindo ongoot
where there is the honey only, that it may become bitter, there is put the seed-

burnt so that the smoke goes inside and the bees come out. He then takes out what honey he wants, wraps it in the leaves he has brought, and descends, carefully extinguishing the fire when he has reached the ground. Though sometimes the barrels are not more than a few feet from the ground, very often the process of taking honey means a climb of eighty feet or so with no help but the occasionally ladder already described.

Although honey has great ritual and social value, the role in the Dorobo economy is minor. It cannot be said that bees take the place of cattle in the daily life of the people, for they require and receive no care beyond the provision of barrels and the due observance of the taboos concerning honey, and there is really no need to know very much about them. But as producers of honey, bees provide material for food, drink, and ritual, and they are thus of some importance. Honey, too, is a much-used medium of exchange. Without honey, Dorobo life would be vain and empty.

b) Hunting

In the past, hunting was the *chief* occupation of Dorobo men, and though they hunt but little now, confining their activities to trapping, they have still a "hunting outlook". The conversation of Dorobo walking through the forest sooner or later turns on the animal life around them, for as we have already noted, they have what the Nandi call *emisit*, which one might almost render 'affinity', with the beasts of the forest. The sort of talk that goes on in the forest is something like this sample, which I took down after hunting it:

A. *Kitich ap tiondi.*
The dust of the animals.

B. *Ee, ai [partial] ipuna ye, amuti ye.*
Look, this one (is) the hartebeest, it crosses from over there, it goes over there.
Mirein, e ma mitein mirin, tinye kibwanyi kibiko.
Small, but not small very, it has no child enough.

A. *Canê nato tiondi, ani amuthiomyon; ainee*
(They are) now these animals, they are in our forest; I like (the things)
ego amuti.
which are of forest.

B. *Ingomwone aitein tiondo, agibo ani tinol ako. Ee*
Let us look over there (at) that forest, perhaps there is the animal number. What
ai ne kuthiotei ani?
(is) the that creeps about inside?

A. *Agibo kumia.*
Perhaps the ground pig.

B. *Wiein, amwoni matit. Ingomwinye kuyanda agibo ee. A mamit*
Yes, I see the hand. It (has) the face like also. But there is
kuyanda.
not face the face.

A. *Ingomwone ale mam.*
Let us see where it escapes (to).

In this connection it is interesting to note that when in Kenya in 1929 I was told that no rain medicine whose results, such the rain in drops on the ground, were described by Dr. Forsyth Thompson, are found in the Turkana country. Nobody, it is said, knows who made them, and they are seldom seen. I, for one, have not seen any. Perhaps it may not be altogether out of place to mention here the occurrence of ancient clay beads that are, from time to time, dug up by natives when cultivating the low ground near Mount Elgon (Masaba), on the extreme south-east of Kavirondo, and that there are legends that seem to refer to a south-westerly migration of a people from the region of Abyssinia into Uganda some centuries ago. These people are said to have been the followers of one Elodo (a prince and leader to a reigning monarch) who during a sojourn in Sudan (in the Dagoretti Province), constructed those remarkable earthworks known as *Magan Ban Mzungu* (the strangers' fort). This legend, it may be added, can be connected very interestingly, but with what validity I have not, with the ruined buildings of the Zimbabwe type in Rhodesia.

Conclusions Reached.

In collecting information, it was found that the tribes were not all equally willing to impart it, and considerable difficulty in this respect was experienced with the Wanderobo. Much of the information that is ethnologically interesting among the people is followed purely because it is customary and more often than not some but the Elders have any knowledge of the certain significance of many of the acts of almost everyday performance. Moreover, the origin of some practices is lost in antiquity. The Elders, too, are suspicious of close enquiry. They have heard (from the native troops of the K.A.R.) that, elsewhere in the Protectorate the Government is doing its best to stamp out witchcraft, and they fear lest anything they say should render them suspect. On the other hand, the common people usually think it odd that there should be any reason behind long-established procedure; and if broadly disposed and not suspicious of the enquirer's motives, and if they are anxious to please, they will, when questioned, invent what seems to them probable explanations and customs them as fact. But theories differ as their makers, and in order to be helpful the people will often discuss matters among themselves for the purpose of coming to conclusions. The value of these is more than doubtful, and it is invariably best to arrive at results, if possible, by indirect methods. Leading questions must, of course, be avoided.

My enquiries led to the accumulation of a very large collection of notes, some of which proved valueless, while much of the remainder was contradictory. All the material was worked over, sorted, and the mutually incongruities results discarded. The issue is not very encouraging; it is, however, better than nothing, and clearly indicates that the tribes of Kavirondo are deserving of detailed study.

So far as positive results are concerned, it is extremely tempting to draw comparisons between them and those obtained by other investigators in neighbouring territories with a view to considering cultural origins and migrations, etc. It is wise, however, to leave this to the professed ethnologist. But perhaps one may point out that some of the negative results are not entirely without interest. One may note, for instance, the absence of clan totemic

organizations, subdivisions, totems and ceremonies figures [now known the peoples of Kenya may legend of the "Great Flood"]. As nothing serious in the way of genealogy was attempted, the consciousness of these progressions, whose ghostly relationships and "siblings" are at times so disturbing, is not determinable, but I could not learn of ceremonies whose generations was separated from that of the present by more than two others.

The numbers of the Andorobo tribe has been noted. It is maintained that "once upon a time" the tribe was much larger. There seems no reason to doubt this, and one naturally speculates with regard to the cause of this diminution of numbers. Want of adaptability seems likely to have been an important factor, and inspection of the lists of physical measurements included in this report suggests, but the suggestion may be dangerous, that in this case adaptability and physical variability are not entirely unconnected. The following table elucidates this point:—

Tribe.	Mean Stat. (in cms.) of Maximum of Adult Males.	Mean Stat. (in cms.) of Maximum of Adult Females.	Stat. in Maximum Maximum Variability of Adult Males.	Stat. in Maximum Maximum Variability of Adult Females.	Stat. of Mean Maximum of Males over Min. of Females. (Absolute.)	Stat. of Mean Maximum of Females over Min. of Males. (Absolute.)
Dorobo	164					
Ak—	163	150	7·0	6·6	13·5	2·6
Kikuyu	163	150	6·6	6·6	13·5	2·6
Wakamba	164	151	6·6	6·6	13·5	2·6

/80 cont'd/

from the north and east which forced the Bantu /81/ immigrants in turn to settle down to a more intensive agricultural life in the higher, safer country, where by an exploitation of the forest soils a density of population hitherto unknown in Eastern Africa could be maintained by shifting cultivation. One can well imagine that this change in subsistence-culture was not an altogether welcome one to the Bantu tribes who had hitherto lived on game and other natural produce of the plains and occasionally reaped, perhaps, some short-term annual. Increasing population-density as well as virile enemies had forced a settled life of agricultural drudgery on the Bantu, especially on their women. Many, no doubt, would try to retain the freedom of the former life by wandering in the forests and any other kind of country still unoccupied, provided an adequate supply of game and water could be found there. So there would be some slight degree of inter-penetration and intermarriage, and the pre-Dorobo tribe would undergo some change from blood-infusions of a Bantu type. Others of the pre-Dorobo tribe would find themselves excluded from the lower forests by the increasing mass of Bantu immigrants and, to a large extent, excluded from the plains as well, by Hamite tribes with mobile armies well organized for war and rapine. These others would, no doubt, either be destroyed or move still further off or, if they stayed and managed to survive, be relegated to a state of semi-serfdom[1].

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1. So one hears of Masai Dorobo, Kikuyu Dorobo, Lumbwa Dorobo, and so on. The "Dorobo Committee" remarked that the Sanye were actually slaves of the Galla and had for ages acted as their hunters and that those living in the Giriama Reserve had passed from the ownership of the Galla to that of the Giriama. But probably protection would be a better word than ownership, the relationship being a symbiotic one on ostensibly equal terms, for as the Committee remarked the Sanye supplied ivory and meat to the Giriama in exchange for beer, poison and maize. The position of all such Dorobo appears to be dependence on the protecting race for livelihood, whereas the protecting race merely depends to some extent on the Dorobo for luxuries and service. The institution of "Shegat" among Somalis and similar peoples seems to involve the same idea of inferior status and dependence of the Shegat section, who none the less retain a theoretical freedom in the body politic.

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439
[171]

/68 cont'd/ 611

Succession is patrilineal and marriage patrilocal. Polygyny is practised. The lineage is a functional continuum, including ancestral spirits as active members while they are still remembered by the persons responsible (so to speak) for keeping them alive by acts of memory and communion, the continuum being of the perpetually successive rather than of the periodically recurrent type, that is to say, a boy is his father's second self rather than his grandfather or great-grandfather born again. 591 595 613 769 [775]

Initiation includes a circumcision rite for boys and a pre-marital rite of clitoridectomy for girls. Age-grading is based on male initiation. There are no generation-ages except in so far as the Dorobo imitated or joined in the ituika of the Kikuyu and the eunoto of the Masai. The word they use for the handing-over ceremony is eunotwet. Alternating ages or generations are distinguished as onet ap-tai (the right hand) and onet ap-katap (the left hand). When the Kikuyu system is referred to Mwangi is the former and Maina the latter, but the expressions were probably used originally of the Masai right-hand and left-hand circumcision groups. 881 561 [777]

There are no indigenous chiefs, the judiciary and legislature being a council of elders. Such an elder is called kiruogindet (pl. kiruogik). A kiruogindet has much the same function as a Kikuyu muthamaki. There is no laibon but formerly the Dorobo owed allegiance to the laibon of the Masai. 622 623 [171] 648

They recognize one Supreme Being, called Tururit (compare the Suk Tororut). There appears to be no cult of so-called Sun Worship. The sacred trees, used for prayers to Tururit, are, for rain the bamboo (a solitary clump), for honey the mukeu, and, in connection with circumcision ceremonies, the muthai and the mutamaiyu. 776 771 778 [881]

78. Little or nothing is known of the relationship of the Dorobo of Southern Kikuyu with other Dorobo sections. The "Dorobo Committee" called them the Kikuyu Escarpment group, and remarked that they were first found in the Aberdares but left there and went to the Masai Reserve, whence they were ejected. At the time the Committee sat this group was living as forest squatters in the 101 [628] [166]

12:Dundas G-5 (ca. 1900) 1908 FL6 Dorobo FL6

dead, and to have sacrificed to them; the few still surviving are believed to sacrifice every year (or more probably every Mwaka) to their ancestors. They spoke a Nilotic language*; but languages go for nothing in this country, where a whole tribe will with the greatest facility in the course of a single generation change its language. The Dorobo themselves say that they, the Masai and the Kikuyu, are the descendants of a common ancestral tribe called the Endigiri, and that their ancestors came from beyond Mount Kenya. They also maintain that the clans of all three tribes are identical; that, for instance, the Aisakahuno clan is the Mokesen of the Masai; the Anjiro, the Tarosero; the Amboi, the Molelyan; the Akkachiko, the Aisir; and so forth.

Their Masai name of Il Torobo† might, perhaps, imply that they are descended from a tribe of dwarfs; but though there are undoubtedly pigmy tribes of Dorobo, such as the Muisi‡ of the bamboo forests of Mount Kenya, the Dorobo in existence at the present day are of much the same stature as other tribes in East Africa. The dwarfish figures of the Muisi Dorobo may possibly be explained by the life they lead.

Compared with other natives the Dorobo are not deficient in intelligence; in fact, in many respects rather the contrary is the case. Dorobo wisdom and cunning are proverbial amongst the Kikuyu and Masai, who consult them in cases of sickness and accidents.

K. R. DUNDAS.

REVIEWS.

* It is difficult to account for the peculiar fact that they spoke Nandi. There are, it appears to me, reasons for believing that a large number of tribes now living in East Africa migrated from the north *viâ* Mount Kenya, and passed through the Kikuyu country. Many of these, and this may have been the case with the Nandi, Lumbwa, and Sotik, may have settled down in these fertile regions for a period sufficiently lengthy to have impressed their language on the aboriginal inhabitants. It is quite possible that very large areas may have been deforested during, and afforested after, such occupations.

† Dorop, *pl.* doropa, means *short* in Masai.

‡ Endigiri and Muisi are different names for the same people; they are also known to the Kikuyu as Amaithachiana. This name is said by some to have been applied originally to all the Dorobo or Asi. The name *Asi* itself might possibly mean the rulers, in which case it bears out the theory that the Dorobo were originally the ruling tribe in the country. It is, perhaps, worth mentioning that the word Athi, one of East Africa's principal rivers, is possibly the same as Asi, the Kikuyu name for the Dorobo.

According to Mr. MacGregor, of the Church Missionary Society, the name Amaithachiana means *child-stealers*. I think myself, however, that the name means the *fierce little people*, and is derived thus:—Amaitha is the name given by the Kikuyu to a *fierce people*—it is, for instance, their name for the Masai—the word Chiana means *children* or, in a secondary sense, *little people*.

[P.189, A]

The age-grades, through which a person passes in turn are: 561

♂	♀
yetik: uncircumcised boys.	*Tipik:* girls.
Murenik: circumcised men.	*Yosotik:* married women.
Apaiiniek: elders.	*Eygitogiiek:* old women.

Boys are *yetik* till circumcised, when they become *murenik* for the 15-year period of their age-set and then *apaiiniek* when the change over occurs.[1] The sub-divisions, *mostinuek*, of the Dorobo age-sets—each set has the same three sub-divisions—are called:

Senior: *Choyiniek.*
Middle: *Taparik* or *Kipalkoyek.*
Junior: *Ruwakanik* or *Kiptoiinik.*

A man belongs normally to the age next but one below that of his father, i.e.:

Age-set:	Eldest son usually belongs to:	Younger sons may belong to:
Kipkoiimet	*Kimnyike*	*Nyongi.*
Kaplelach	*Nyongi*	*Maina*
Kimnyike	*Maina*	*Juma*
Nyongi	*Juma*	*Sawe*
Maina	*Sawe*	*Kipkoiimet*
Juma	*Kipkoiimet*	*Kaplelach*
Sawe	*Kaplelach*	*Kimnyike*

It may happen, as in Nandi, that a man will be classed with an age next but two below that of his father (as in the last column above), because he was born so long after his father's marriage that he would be too young to be circumcised with the age he would normally belong to. [171]

With these terminological features, the resemblance of the Dorobo age-sets to the Nandi ends. They have no military functions at all, and their sole significance is behaviouristic. As an element in social structure the age-sets cut across the formal kinship patterns, and behaviour is not wholly reflected in the kinship system; when the two elements clash, the age-set pattern prevails. In a short summary it is not possible to go into details, but the following genealogy will illustrate it sufficiently: [701] [182] [602]

[1] See J.R.A.I. lvii. 426, for further details of the Nandi age-set.

may be greeted, though not talked to otherwise. Other relations of the wife are treated as the 1st ascending generation, and their children as one's own. But as men get older, the complete avoidance of their wife's mother tends to relax, though never at any time is there ordinary intercourse between them. 606

C. The Clan and Marriage Regulations. 614

Marriage regulations are based on the clan system, and the general rule is that a man may not marry within his clan. The clan, *oret*, is the basis of social organization, and the social aspect of the clan is emphasized by the habit of living [361] in clan settlements, by the clan councils where [627] matters like land boundaries, marriages, and minor offences between clansmen are discussed, and by the stress laid on the group-aspect of the clan rather than on its animal-aspect (i.e. "totem"). The Nandi, for example, talk of *tiond' ap orenyō*, 'the animal of my clan' or *tiondannyō* 'my animal'; whereas the Dorobo say *ornyon*, 'my clan'. There are no prohibitions concerning the clan-animal (*tiondo*), which in fact has no ritual social value, though as a source of food it has an actual social value.

Two clans, Moi and Kapsegoi, have the same *tiondo* (the crested crane), and marriage between these two is allowed, because the *oret* is different, although the *tiondo* is the same. It may be noted, too, that in the case of the Moi, a Moi may marry a Moi woman, provided she belongs to 'another house,' *kot ake*, that is, lives in another district, and is not a blood relation. Clansmen are regarded as *tilionutik*, 'relations' and are addressed as *ornyon*, 'my clan[sman],' or as *ar' t' apaa*, a term not otherwise found in Dorobo, but equivalent to F. Br. S. in Nandi. [171]

The clan animals are:

Kapsegoi..... } Moi ..... }	*koyonyot* (crested crane).
Kipiegen.....	*konokchot* (baboon).
Kipamwi.....	*yemwiyo* (duiker).
Kapil.....	*toralt* (bush-pig).
Toiyoi.....	*robta* (the rain).
Korapor.....	*kimaketyet* (hyaena).

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1. But the "Dorobo Committee" of 1929 recorded: "Their social standing (i.e. of the Sanya, Dahalo and Boni) is so inferior that it seems very unlikely that they can be absorbed with either the Galla or the Giriama. Intermarriage between them and either of those tribes is unknown."

of his hunting land."

Mr. A.R. Barlow wrote in 1926:

"Kikuyu girls in some cases were bought in marriage by the Aathi (hunters) who then settled among the Kikuyu. The Aathi having no stock, they surrendered areas of forest to their fathers-in-law as bride-price." (2)

2. Quoted by the 1929 Committee.

This puts the transaction in its proper light: it is incorrect to talk of girls as currency with which to "purchase" land; land, possibly, in default of goats, was currency with which to "purchase" girls. Girls did not merely take the place of goats as currency, although the phraseology of certain witnesses (both white and black) suggests that they did. For instance, girls could not be used in lieu of goats in payment for the lands their fathers or their brothers (according to the Kikuyu story) had arranged to "purchase" from Dorobo who had joined their groups by being made blood-brothers for the purpose of the "sales." That would be tantamount to ritual incest, for each group, including its new members, was exogamous. Or, if there had been reciprocal blood-brotherhood between two groups instead of joint adoption by the parties to the "sale" the marriage would annul the husband's status as a ritual brother of the "buyer's" group (3). But

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3. There are forms of so-called blood-brotherhood among some tribes which do not involve exogamy, e.g. the Zande of the Sudan, where it is thought desirable for a man to marry his blood-brother's daughter. But this does not apply to forms in which the blood-brother is "treated as the son of one's own mother."

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would confer no rights in land except perhaps a meagre one of cultivation only. The marriage of a Dorobo to a Kikuyu girl, the "bride-price" being paid in land, would in theory be impossible because it would mean a double uthoni and that was contrary to both Kikuyu and Dorobo custom, though marriage by exchange of girls between two groups is not a concept [p. 148] quite unknown in primitive society (1), and some of the Fort Hall elders say that many

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1. Cf. Akiga's story: the Tiv tribe as seen by one of its members transacted and annotated by Rupert East, 1939. Of the practice of exchange marriage Dr. East remarks, "It is, or has been, an institution of paramount importance, and lies at the base of the whole present tribal organization." According to the Tiv theory of exchange, daughters bear children to their father's family by proxy. Dr. East says, "The most probable explanation ... is that it represents an unconscious attempt to reconcile the patrilineal and matrilineal principles." Cf. also C.K. Meek in "Marriage by exchange in Nigeria," Africa, January 1936: "... it may be said generally that one of the main reasons for the abandonment of marriage by exchange is that women now claim the right to marry anyone they please."

years ago, land being plentiful and goats scarce, a girl was rarely handed over as the "purchase-price" of land among Kikuyu; others declare that this could not be done at all. But I doubt if we can rule this method, which would sometimes mean alliance with a family rich in goats, completely out, although it would entail an infringement of the strict Dorobo law. We have seen that such a union would become a matrilocal marriage. It would serve to keep the husband close at hand and make him something of a drone, dependent, leading a lazy life and liable to degeneration. As a long-range method of absorption it would be of some effect.

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Another method of acquiring land was that of compensation for a homicide—"blood-money." Theoretically the land would be

D 197 /15 cont./ the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 D 197 802 Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

D M 771 304 619 [191] D M 174 619 [844] [846] The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El mengana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

D M 614 613 If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people; the stressing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/16/

Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The En gidon lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiboron lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613 Every tribe (en gischomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (ol gelata, el gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (ol gelata kitok)

/229 cont./

184 The fact that in many things the Asá served as a model for the latter two and that the El asiti also often designate themselves as Asá follows [224] from the circumstances. They are both merely /230/ hunters, whereas [233] among the El gassurek the tendency toward animal husbandry has still been preserved here and there.

128 In the following, for obvious reasons, only the Asá will be discussed.
197 Therefore the accompanying native words have been taken from the Asá idiom.

613 The fact that the Asá are divided into the same tribes and lineages
614 as the Masai and Wakuafi and that they also regard the ol oiboni[1] as
79 their chief has already been mentioned at the beginning. It is to be
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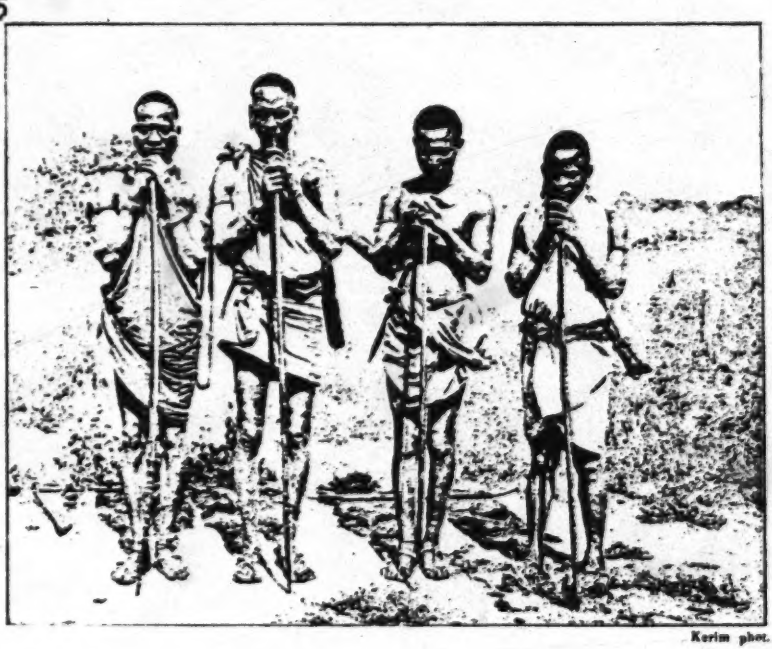

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Ill. 60. Wanderóbo men.

[1] [i.e., the chief of the Masai people--Analyst]

/230 cont./ It is to be
613 noted, however, that there seems to be no El kiboron among the Asá,
•171 as is shown by both the consistent assertions of the people and the observations of the author, who did not find any members of that lineage among them anywhere. The respect and esteem that the El kiboron enjoy among all the Masai people sufficiently explains the fact that, with the displacement of the Wandorobo at the time, they were adopted into the community of the oppressors.

/231/ II.

000 Plan and arrangement of the camp. -- The huts. -- Household equipment. -- Daily life, food, work. -- Earthen pots. -- Baskets. -- Leather dressing. -- Market trade. -- Honey extraction. -- Manufacture of bows and arrows. -- Spears. -- Dance and song.

361 The Asá roam the steppes as hunters, in that they wander with
[224] the game, whose meat gives them food and out of whose skins they
[239] make their clothing. This circumstance brings along with it the fact that they can not live together in large kraals, but rather, divided into small bands, are forced to stay here today and in a
[342] distant place a few weeks later. Accordingly, their camps (aijo) only consist of hastily built small huts (morog) that are made out of branches and grass. The camps as a rule are hidden in dense
[490] bush and have no special enclosure. The paths and game runs leading to them are carefully barricaded with thorn branches and thus made inaccessible. Only the practiced eye of the Asá will find the wonderfully concealed entrance to the camp.

621 Only two or three families, rarely a few more, usually live in
[591] one camp. Next to their huts are found those in which the unmarried
[192] circumcised men (dobonog) live with the young girls. As among the Masai, each young man has his favorite girl. He calls her
[171] sanjet uan, she calls him sanjeg uan, words in which one again finds the Masai word sandja. Their huts are designated as morog

/231 cont./

621 to dobonog, i.e., huts of the unmarried men, in contrast to the
[192] aija to dalma, the camp of the married. Therefore here, too, we
• [171] find, even in the name, a separation into kraal of the married and kraal of the warriors, similar to the one mentioned for the Masai.

171 The arrangement of the interior of the hut, like the form itself,
353 resembles that of the Masai; its furnishings, however, are even
415 sparser. A honey pot (madjé, madjeog), a gourd bottle (mget) for
237 drinking water and honey beer, a leather bag (lebenu, lebenua)
283 for collecting honey, a larger one (ndaro, ndareraŭg) for water, a
352 few earthen pots, larger ones (idug, idia) and smaller ones (ruguba,
412 ruguba) for cooking, a couple of wooden bowls (tagi), a rope cut out of an animal skin (scharu, schâruga) to tie up the slain meat, a cord twisted out of the bark fibers of the baobab (Adansonia digitata) for the drawing up and letting down of the beehives hung in trees (merihgo), along with a few dehaired skins (fulót) that serve as beds, as well as ax (haŭo, hauerɛg) and knife (pandyug), constitute the
492 principal household equipment. In a few huts one also finds the en
412 dereta /pack-holders/ of the Masai, here called lalaho (leleweg),
413 as well as a hammer (giribɛ́t) for forging and a chisel for designing
177 the arrow points (mad, mara), and finally that sharpened small piece of sheet iron serving as razor-knife (herá, hererá). The entire family,
592 namely, husband, wife or wives, and the uncircumcised children, live in one /232/ hut. Men and boys, however, are usually out.
512 The day begins even before daybreak for the hunting men. They
[224] set out with a snack consisting of a little piece of boiled or roasted
[264] meat, so that the first light of day already finds them in the hunting
[825] grounds. The game now behaves best; as they say, it then feeds more eagerly and carelessly than a few hours later, when the sun already becomes annoying to it. At daybreak women and children leave the huts; firewood and water are carried up in order to cook
[251] the meat fetched from a larder located in a nearby tree. The meat is kept there and not in the camp, so that it hangs in the air and
512 thus remains fresh longer. After that the morning meal is eaten.
264 Actually the Wandorobo do not have definite mealtimes: as long as there is something edible they simply eat as long as they can.

/232 cont./

262 If lean times then come, one tries, as well as one can, to appease the stomach with wild roots or tubers, with berries or other small
[252] fruits, with honey and honey beer. Meat is seldom eaten raw, usually boiled or roasted at the open fire. For storage it is cut into
251 long strips that are hung to dry in the sun. When the meat is well
439 dried, it is stowed away in the aforementioned tree, close to the
231 camp; cattle and small livestock, which are bought from the Masai for ivory, are not kept, but slaughtered immediately. Insofar as the
262 Wandorobo, in barter with sedentary tribes, are able to come into
[439] the possession of vegetables, they also live on these, but actually only during times when, for some reason, only little game is to be had. Otherwise the vegetable food acquired by trade constitutes
[272] only a side dish, especially for woman and children. Many of them detest milk and base this on the fact that their stomachs, accustomed only to meat diet from early childhood, do not tolerate it. Some go so far as to throw away the udder of a slaughtered cow, although
[171] they eat that of a slain piece of game. There indeed seems to be no doubt but that the previously mentioned Masai belief, according to which milk and meat must not be brought together, rests on these
273 customs. Besides water, honey beer, which they make in the same
[271] way as the Masai, also serves them as a beverage. The latter prize
[171] that made by them more than their own, which probably rests on the fact that the Wandorobo keep the good honey for themselves and sell
264 only the inferior kind. Men, women, and children eat together.
[252] Both the foods for the man, his wives, and children and, on the other hand, those for the youth and his favorite girl are cooked in one pot.
[415] From this the food is poured into small wooden bowls (kitokog), of
273 which each adult sharing in the meal has his own. From the food
171 laws of the Masai, the custom that young unmarried men may not drink honey beer is still found here as a survival. Tobacco is a
276 luxury of the married. Men smoke it, coarsely cut, in pipes carved by themselves. Ground to powder and mixed with a little steppe salt and /233/ fat, it serves both men and women for snuffing. Women also like to chew the snuff.

/233 cont./

512 [356] [462] After breakfast the day's work begins. Huts must be repaired and renovated, for which branches and twigs for the frame, bast for binding it, and long-stemmed grass for covering the roof and lining the walls are procured. When the women are not busy with this, with cooking, with fetching water and gathering firewood, one usually sees them sitting in the shade with some handwork. They [294] [281] sew clothing, bags, leather covers for the wooden pots, cut straps, etc. Concerning the ornaments, the Wandorobo make for themselves 306 439 those things that the Masai also make for themselves; they only buy the metal-forged work from Masai blacksmiths. The making of the 323 462

Fig. 81. (1/10)

ball-shaped earthen pots (Fig. 81) falls to the women. From dark-gray clay (anjet) they shape the pot with their hands (without a wheel) and let it dry in the sun, after it has been decorated, usually with cord ornamentation. Before being fired, it is usually stuffed with dried grass prior to being put in a fire made with dried tree bark with which it is entirely covered and in which it remains until it takes on a dark red color. The finished pot, in order "to protect it from cracking during use," is thoroughly heated on the hearth fire, and then boiling water, in which a bone has cooked, is poured in.

281 The dressing of the hides from the most recent hunting booty also takes a great deal of time. Those intended for sale are, of course, simply nicely cleaned of all meat and fatty parts and then, pegged to the ground with sticks, dried in the sun. The others, [171] however, which are to be used to make clothing, are worked into 000 leather in the way described for the Masai. As there, the tanned

/234 cont./

231 322 [412] the first consists of the ax blade stuck into a wooden handle like a knife and is used as a paring chisel; the other is a hollow chisel (nja) with which one smooths the tubes on the inside. The two openings are closed corklike by flat wooden covers fitting into the opening, into each of which two holes permit entry for the wild bees. For hanging, one puts around the middle part two loops twisted out of lianas, which are connected, handlelike, by a plaiting of lianas, like the straps of a holdall. The beehive is picked up by this handle with a hooked branch, at the upper end of which is lashed a second one with a hook on top. With the latter the whole thing is hung in the branches of taller trees. On the side hanging downward the beehive bears an ownership mark. As a rule it is the same as the one that is burned on the long tang or on the extension tang of the arrow point. On the beehive one finds it either whole or only its lower part. Before the honey is removed /235/ the bees are driven out by a very smoky fire kindled under the tree (1).

231 [283]

[422]

Fig. 82. (1/10)

[171]

1. I never observed among the El dorobo a stupefying of the bees by means of Bovista (Lycoperdon), such as I saw on Kilimandscharo among the Wadschagga.

/235 cont./

411 322 [283] [237] with fat several times, it is bent over the fire. The string is plaited together, turning and braidlike, out of short animal tendons and is extended by further interweaving up to the required length. The projecting starting-ends of the individual pieces of tendon are neatly cut off, whereupon one then rubs the now finished bowstring with some fat.

The arrow shaft (Fig. 84) is carved out of a dry wooden stick, first rounded, then smoothed by scraping. The upper end is wound [237] [824] [412] with tendons that have been coated with the varnishlike juice of a not yet described species of gladiolus known as diriᵹᵹ, whereupon, on top, one drills in the one- /236/ /Figs. 83 and 84 appear here/ 411 [237] centimeter-long hole for the tang of the arrow by a twirling motion with a thin wooden chisel. At the lower end the three-part feather- [136] [283] [824] ing -- out of the feathers of the carrion vulture (Neophron percnopterus) -- is first fastened on by being wrapped with a very fine bast thread and then glued fast with the gladiolus juice just mentioned. Another wrapping of animal tendons is found between the feathering and the rear notch for the bowstring, in order to prevent a splitting of the shaft.

[325] [322] [171] [439] The people buy the iron points; only if a point breaks off /237/ do they as a rule forge a new one for themselves. Clubs are carved from a piece of wood, as among the Masai. They buy the spears, of which there are one or more in almost every camp, from the blacksmiths of the Masai. The spears serve as weapons only in the camp, where shooting with arrows is not permitted, on account of the danger connected with that, since they are always poisoned.

415 [439] [285] The Asá for the most part buy wooden bowls and gourd bottles from sedentary tribes. On the other hand, in some places they plait shallow baskets, which they use for storing food.

524 829 171 The fact that the Wandorobo do not play the board game so popular among the Masai was explained to me by them with the words: "During the game we would forget to hunt and then, with our families, would have to starve."

512 517 With the coming of darkness complete stillness as a rule comes over the camps, quiet even during the day; the day's work is done and everyone goes to his hut. Only on moonlit evenings do the old [273] [535] people often still sit in the open for a few hours, talking, with a gourd bottle of honey beer, while the young men and girls dance [533] and let their falsetto song ring out through the still night, from

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 313]

512 /237 cont./
517 which now and then, as though as an answer, the cry of a predatory
[273] animal resounds over to them. The dance differs from that of the
535 Masai through the fact that the men do not lift their feet, but only
[538] raise their heels. The narrow, twisted plaza of the camp permits
535 only dancing on the spot. Just as there, here too it is accompanied
121 each time by song.
[321]
533 In a falsetto (1)

[126] 1. Recorded by Herr Stabsarzt /staff physician/ Dr. Skrodzki.

the tone, just barely reachable, roughly the A above middle C (sometimes stricken), is strongly accented and shrilly sung out. In an extremely irregular beat the succession of tones now descends in the six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord of A. At the A below middle C the chest tone sets in, but relatively softer then the falsetto, until, descending in the same degrees of the scale, the second A below middle C is reached. The final tones are more certain, because they lie better for the singer; the falsetto usually hovers around the tone sought, in part uncertainly, in part playfully.

Appoggiaturas, triplets are repeated all the more frequently the more certain the artist gradually feels in adhering to the melody -- sit venia verbi /so to speak/. No other figures are observed. Finally the voice once more glides within the seventh chord up and down the last octave; or the fundamental tone is phrased in contrapuntal fashion at the end. The entire song is an irregular variation of a six-four / $\frac{6}{4}$ / chord. It is limited almost entirely to two octaves. Through the greater probability of being hit properly the fundamental tones of the chord form the natural rest points for the voice and may sometimes be interpreted as strong parts of the measure. In marching they coincide with the putting down of one foot. Nevertheless there is not any sort of time that can be observed. The delivery is often parlando, and the tempo also corresponds to this style. The fact that the /238/ text is arranged ad libitum /at will/ for each use heightens the interest, if not the musical enjoyment, of the listeners.

/238 cont./

601 Son of my brother: msumbetog bidjog uan.
msumbetog bidjogeach.
Daughter of my brother: wetu bidjogeach.
Son of my sister: weku bidjot uan.
Daughter of my sister: wetu bidjeach.
Grandfather: agoija.
/239/ Grandmother: a mama.
Father-in-law: roiageach.
Mother-in-law: ratetuan.

The terms of address for relatives are:
Father: aba or baba.
Mother: jējo or ea.
Wife: mai.
Stepmother: ea.
Son: msumbetog (pl. msumbe).
Daughter: illeto (pl. illug).
Grandfather: akuja.
Grandmother: akuja, koko, a mama.
Father-in-law: ba-geteh.
Brother: bidjogeach, ba-suben.
Half brother: bidjoguan, ba-suben.
Sister: bidjeach.
Half sister: bidjot uan.
Uncle: agogeach.
Aunt: ea.
Mother-in-law: ba-ger.
Brother-in-law: ba-suben.
Sister-in-law: balelo.

593 The head of the family is the family father, who has the same
• 171 rights as among the Masai.

For the Masai terms of address: eraijo, engijo, abula and araba,
601 the Asá have the words ego-ea, eto-ea, agogeach, and arimé
171 (see p. 56).

/339 cont./

IV.

000 Marital relations. -- Polygyny. -- Betrothal. -- State of being betrothed. -- Conversion of the young men to the state of the married. -- Bride price. -- Fowling the consent of the father of the bride. -- Exchange of wives. -- Obstacles to marriage. -- Entering into marriage. -- Dissolution of the marriage.

595 The marital relations also offer little that is new. Polygyny exists only to a limited extent; most of the people are too poor to acquire and support more than one wife; only a few have two wives, 584 and if a man has three of them it is a rarity. Betrothal in earliest • 191 childhood seem to be more frequent here than among the Masai, but no more binding and without legal consequences. As a rule after circumcision the youth is betrothed to a girl eight to ten years old, after his father has proposed for him to her parents. As among the Masai, the /340/ betrothed persons live apart and may not even see each other. The bridegroom lives with a girl in the one camp, and [836] in the other, the bride with another youth. If the bride becomes [848] pregnant before the wedding, dissolution of the betrothal does not [845] always take place, as among the Masai, but rather the one who made her pregnant must reimburse the bridegroom by the payment of a head of cattle.

561 Here, just as among the Masai, the young men of an age class 582 together decide upon their entering the wedding of the married, and 574 their fellow companions confirm this intention by a feast corresponding to the ol genek i ol ki. in which friends and neighbors participate. [273] They are served game and honey beer, the latter of which, however, [224] the marriage candidates may not yet drink. They like to set the feast for the day after a successful elephant hunt, so that the guests can feast heartily on meat.

583 Before marriage can be entered into, the bride price is to be [439] paid. The bridegroom usually gives the father of the bride, even before her circumcision, five pots of honey and five beehives, and, soon after her circumcision, half of a male female elephant with the tusk that belongs to it; furthermore, two head of cattle, which

/[Ik] cont./

[113] are bought from the Ideal for ivory, and finally half of the meat of
[1137] a dish female head of game approximately the size of a zebra. The
mother of the bride and each of her brothers receive from the bride-
groom a bedikwe spiere. Instead of the bedikwe the parents-in-law
in some regions, especially where the Wandorobo live in close contact
with the Ideal, receive iron wire. After receiving the gifts, the
[1144] bridegroom and father-in-law reciprocally call each other ko-gwesh,
bridegroom and mother-in-law ko-gor, bridegroom and the brothers
of the bride ko-nakwa, according to ancient Ideal custom.

[113] For heaviam no higher price is paid. For a childless widow
[1137] the usual price is paid, but only after the birth of the first child and
after her father has returned to the heirs of her deceased husband
the price received for her before her first marriage. For a widow
who gave birth to girls only, no bride price is paid; instead, however,
[113] the heir of her deceased husband keeps her daughters. Likewise
nothing is paid for a woman driven out by her husband. If the
bridegroom dies before the marriage, his brother takes the bride.
[1134] If the bride dies before the marriage or if the betrothal persons
dissolve the betrothal, the portion of the bride price already paid
is returned. A bridegroom who is too poor to be able to pay the
full price serves the father-in-law for a few months as herder for
the remainder owed.

[114] If the father of the girl has stubbornly opposed the courtship,
he is finally forced to consent by means of a divine judgment.
The lover stealthily creeps into the hut of the old man and ties a
[1144] rope of grass around the wooden honey pot. The father is said [to]
to give his consent regularly then, since otherwise the punishment
[1145] of God would kill him. In place of this custom, it also happens
[1171] that the lover secretly takes the girl away, or the latter -- as among
the Ideal -- flees to him without her parents' knowledge.

[137] Wife exchange occurs, but legal marriage does not arise from
it. The woman does not remain with the other man for longer than
a half to a whole year. If she feels pregnant before this time, she
returns to her husband.

[112 171] Among the Ank the norm marriage obtains held as among the
Ideal, but the great distances between the individual tiny camps

/Fol. cont./

other necessitate a more lenient interpretation, so that there has often come about a practice according to which the bridal couple may not be related more closely than the third degree.

After the completed paying of the bride price, the bride is handed over to the bridegroom, and the latter either takes her along immediately or leaves her for two or three weeks to learn housekeeping with his mother, so that the latter will instruct her in housekeeping.

There is nothing new to be said about the wedding customs. A *jus p. n.* /*jus primae noctis*/ also exists here, and, to be sure, in the same form as among the Masai.

Divorce, as among the Masai, comes about if the husband drives out the wife or if the latter runs away from him. What was said about the possible return of the bride price there also applies. With the divorce all the children remain with the father. The woman keeps the infant only until the end of the nursing period, which she usually spends with her parents, whereupon the father also takes this child to live with him. If a pregnant woman runs away from her husband, he may demand the child, without compensation, after the weaning. Husband and wife may remarry immediately after a divorce, though a woman who is nursing a child is supposed to wait until its weaning. Divorced couples may reinstate the marriage by mutual consent, without any formalities. What was said of the Masai about the dissolution of a marriage through the death of one partner and about the remarriage of the other marriage partner applies.

/843 cont./

843 pendants, beads, chains, or even a head of small livestock.

During the last two months before her confinement the woman is given only a meager diet, so that the birth will be easier. Here, too, as among the Masai, the pregnant woman wears no ornaments.
[301] [971] On the day of the confinement the husband may not leave the camp.
844 His mother or mother-in-law acts as midwife. Besides the obstetric
[971] methods of the Masai, there also exists here the custom that the husband, to increase the labor-pain activity, perhaps moistens with his saliva the chest, abdomen, and back of the woman giving birth and then massages them gently with circular movements. While doing so, he several times calls out the words "Mighty God, let the child come out!" The umbilical cord (or navel) is severed with a razor-knife (Lemera) and then, together with the placenta, buried in the hut. It is not the object of superstitious customs. It is regarded
[999] as unlucky if the child's upper incisors come through before the lower
[856] ones: it is believed that this will cause illness or death in the family.
846 The young mother may not leave the hut until five days after her confinement, out of consideration for her health, not for superstitious
853 reasons. [illegible] mother's milk, the little one is stuffed with a great deal of the fat of game, of which that of the large porkyderms is particularly valued as infant food.

846 Deformed newborn children are killed by strangulation by the
849 midwife immediately after birth. The highest figure known to me
163 /163/ of confinements of one woman was 11. From 97 aged Ank women questioned, 554 children were born, which gives an average of 5.7 per woman. Of them, 45, therefore 52.6 per cent, were
165 girls, and 73, therefore 47.4 per cent, were boys. Before their circumcision 71 = 45.5 per cent had died, in which the stillbirths
591 are included. Until their circumcision the children live in the hut of the mother.

/340 cont./

VI.

000 Name-giving or adoption of names boys, girls, homes, married woman, parents.

553 The Wandorobo are not so extravagant with names as the Masai. As soon as the upper incisors of the child -- boys and girls -- come through, it receives from the mother at a small feast a name that remains the principal name for its whole life. As soon as a boy can crawl, the father gives him a second name, with which only he calls him. Neither among the Asa nor among other Wandorobo did the author find names peculiar to these tribes, the people here have those that we were familiar with among the Masai. To the question as to the reason that determined the choice of names, they usually answered "As announced and wealthy Masai was called that" If all a woman's previously born children died, the newborn child is given the name Kaisi.

[illegible] The girl, at her circumcision, is given a second name by her husband's cousin or friend, however, no one calls her by it. After a brave [illegible] deed performed in hunting his companions give the following a name corresponding to the one that the at manyat receives after killing an enemy in war. The occasion is when the slaying of an elephant, to which the names of other gift or kinship refer. The former refers to the appearance of the elephant meat, which, because of the white (ol olbor) fat, looks speckled (gir). The latter indicates that the elephant was shot in the papyrus reed called ol mija. Another name is ol olby dimi (Masai word), i.e., the one who does not hold back, but rushes ahead. The one who has been away from the camp for considerable time on a grocery hunting expedition is called ol dojani upon his return, a name that the one who has joined the Masai for a period of time also receives.

555 After the birth of the five child, the parents are named after it. For example, if the child is called Ndolegon, the father is designated as eng Ndolegon (father of N.), the mother ene N. (mother of N.). After the death of the five child, the parents, in like manner, are [illegible]. [i.e., a Masai warrior--Ainslie]

/343 cont./
551 named after the oldest living child. Among the Aaí one likewise finds the custom whereby the son, after the father's death, is called by his name.

/344/ VII.

600 Circumcision of the boys. -- Age classes. -- Organization of the circumcised young men. -- Circumcision of the girls.

831 The circumcision of the boys and girls is exactly the same as
• 121 among the Masai and takes place at the same time as that of the
541 Masai boys. The newly circumcised boys (bogodendgi, bogodoffi) form an age class (ebindadgi), which borrows its name from that of the Masai. For two to three years after their circumcision the boys
561 are called barnotig (sing. barnotendgi), corresponding to the ol barnot
171 of the Masai. When the latter become ol móran, the former correspondingly become dabonong (sing. dabonatog), and later, with their
[241] the Masai. The bogodoffi dress exactly like the en ribelio, and, like
[242] them, they set out to hunt small birds, with the skins of which they adorn themselves. When the corresponding age class (ol barnot) of the Masai gets a new name, that of the Aaí adopts it also. They
[178] cling to their old customs even when their present mode of life makes
[179] them unnecessary. The reason the Wandorobo have no names of their own for the age classes is -- also according to their own explanation -- that the ol oiboni, whom the Aaí also call ollorog, does not give them any and would regard it as extremely audacious if these poor, despised people came to him with such a request. The ebindadgi also choose their head -- the ol aiyoni of the Masai -- who here is called olíg or kiriríja or also aiyoni. As among the Masai, this is an honorary position without duties, but here without any privileges
[192] either. There the kiras kidge, whose task is chiefly to settle disputes, corresponds to the ol oigwenani of the Masai. The kiríjá corresponds
[194] to the ol oiboni of the Masai. He is the leader in hunting, especially on larger expeditions, which often lead the young Wandorobo in
[566] pursuit of elephants far from their camp. Only one who, in hunting

4. [Chief of the Masai people, and according to Merker, also chief of the Aas--Analyst]

561 /244 cont./
191 elephants, buffalo, and lions, has distinguished himself through
224 courage and decisiveness and who shows these qualities anew again
555 and again is elected kirigit.

881 About the circumcision of the girls, it is only to be said that, adorned, a few days before the operation they set out for the neighboring camps to bid farewell to their younger girl friends. On these
[425] visits they are permitted to appropriate anything that they wish (food, clothing, ornaments, etc.), without special permission from the owners.

Concerning the reason for the circumcision the Asá also say that God commanded them to undertake this on their children.

/245/ VIII.

000 Hunting. -- The weapons, bow, arrow, hunting spear. -- Ownership marks. -- Preparation and effect of the arrow poison. -- Treatment of arrow wounds. -- Stalking. -- Hunting dogs. -- Station. -- Battue hunting. -- Practice of hunting. -- Game. -- Superstition. -- Many words of the hunters in the bush.

411 For the doboncg of the Wandorobo hunting is what war is for the
[561] El moran of the Masai. Their principal weapons are bow and arrow.
[224] The two-sided bow ([Fig. 83] gari, gaiewog) has the shape of a flattened segment of a circle. It is as a rule 1.50 meters long and very sharply flexible. With it belongs a leather quiver ([Fig. 85] mpiliti, madimoig) with arrows ([Fig. 84] mat, mara). The wooden arrow-shaft bears a small notch on its rear end for setting it on the bow string, and directly in front of it the three-part feathering (haiya).
[439] The iron point, which the Wandorobo usually buy from Wakuafi and Masai blacksmiths, but also from sedentary Negroes, and more

/251 cont./

224 222 they particularly value the entrails and also do not scorn the meat of fallen or stricken animals; indeed, even the skin of elephant, rhinoceros, and hippopotamus is eaten roasted. As huntable, i.e., here [223] [439] edible, the Wandorobo regard elephant, rhinoceros, hippopotamus, pigs, zebras, all cloven-footed animals from the giraffe to the tiny dwarf antelope, hares, rock rabbits, and, of the birds, the ostrich, which, however, they shoot only on account of its feathers, which the Masai like to buy for the manufacture of the war head-ornaments. They do not hunt monkeys and lower animals, because they do not relish their meat.

224 On the day before the new moon, and in places also on the seventeenth day, the ol onjugi, no one goes hunting because, according to popular belief, one would not kill anything on the former day, [825] [177] whereas on the latter the bow would break. The red-headed Anaplectes melanotis is regarded as unlucky for the hunter. If the hunter sees it along the way he returns to camp immediately and does not leave it again until several hours later, in order to try his luck anew.

561 264 171 [178] Like the warriors of the Masai, the dobonog of the Wandorobo also hold their meat meals in the forest. Whereas among the former, however, these are a result of the food rules, according to which the warrior may not eat meat in the kraal, among the latter it is only a matter of observing an ancient custom for which there is no longer any reason today, since the unmarried man usually eats his meat food in the hut. On the other hand, there is greater justification for retaining the en dorobo, where they strengthen themselves by a plentiful [262] [229] eating of meat for a larger hunting expedition for more distant and at the same time dangerous game, such as elephants and buffalo. The [263] [216] many spices and stimulants that we became acquainted with among the Masai are also used by the Wandorobo, but to a far lesser extent. They do not divide up into fellowships for the meals in the bush, but 561 224 only for the hunting expeditions. Each company, as a rule, consists of four men and is called e sirdet, in which one recognizes the present Masai word es sirit. The booty is divided among the participants in [574] equal parts. If an individual hunter or an e sirdet spends the night in a strange camp, the host is given a foreleg and a hind leg of the hunting booty.

/251 cont./

IX.

000 Clothing and adornment. -- Cloth materials. -- The individual articles of clothing and adornment, compared with those of the Masai. -- Head and body hair. -- Nails. -- Painting. -- Tattooing.

439 648 177 Cloth materials, such as are the tender of the caravan people in the barter trade, have been adopted only to an extremely slight extent among the Asá. The principal reason for this is that they only rarely come into direct contact with the caravans; rather, under pressure from the Masai, /252/ they are forced to deliver to them their yield in elephant tusks, hippopotamus teeth, and horns of Rhinoceros bicornis for a small compensation. There is no question of a legal barter trade; the Masai buy kwa nguvu = with force, as the coastal peoples so aptly designate this type of trade.

291 • 171 [511] One therefore sees the Asá almost solely in their original leather clothing (hide worked into leather, magadeg, magadaig), which, in cut and manner of wear, is identical with that of the Masai, but looks poorer and often ragged. This poverty is particularly noticeable for the boys' and mens' capes, called e megiti and en joriba by the Masai, which the Wandorobo name the same, and which here are also worn by older men because in hunting the ol gela is too inconvient because of its length. The dobonog otherwise do not generally wear the e megiti, rather more often an en joriba made of calf hides, which they buy from the Masai; older men often have it made out of the hide of the female black-heeled antelope. The costume of the women is here called ǯok (pl. ǯkí), as is the upper part of it (ol egischobo of the Masai) by itself, while the lower one is named after the Masai designation ol ogessana gessána (pl. gessanán). The ol gela l el moruak is here called gok o daĕmá and is considerably shorter than the former, only a little longer than the en joriba. Sandals (ischíba) serve them as footwear, which, however, in general are not used. In adornment the poverty of the Asá is shown particularly among the dobonog, though one must also consider that their desire for favor in the eyes of the fair sex is, as a result of circumstances, very considerably less than

[561] [237] [439]

301 561 832

/252 cont./

301 [56] [832] that which fills the el móran. Whereas the latter vie with one another for the favor of so many girls, the former, in their small camps, scarcely have to fear any competition. Lavish and conspicuous ornamentation, however, would also be burdensome and hindering for the hunter in hunting. Hence for the most part one finds among them, as well as [171] among the married men, only in the ear lobes the tube-shaped ol gissoi of the Masai, which designate the same, and around the neck a smaller number of simpler rings. On the other hand, the Wandorobo women, concerning the quantity and types of ornaments, are quite on a par with those of the Masai. To be sure, one never finds among the former such, decked-out fashionable beauties as among the latter; rather, the individual woman has only a few articles of adornment Besides the ones mentioned, the author also found the following kinds of ornaments, which, for the sake of brevity, are to be listed only with the names of the Masai and Wandorobo. (From the first designation then is to be seen, according to Section II, what it concerns):[1] 301 192 ol orowíl, here lilúod; ol eleschua, here called the same; en gimeta, here likewise; e rab, here enguan; ol kibaba, here likewise; en jili, here called the same; ol benīēt, here likewise; olaiai, here na haiīēt; further, the heavy brass-wire ear pendants of the women (surudia), here tamaschīēt, tamagīg, and the large ornament of iron wire es segeńgeī e murt, here es segeńgeī endet to issat; es segeńgeī ol barańgasch, /253/ here es segeńgeī to lubaog; es segeńgeī en dagule, here es segeńgeī to n daguleț, and the es segeńgeī ol oreschet, here es segeńgeī to eē.

301 Finger rings (here ol gissoi ku seńgetok) are worn only by women, and, to be sure, especially on the middle finger of the right hand. Men do not wear any, because allegedly the bowstring easily catches on it in shooting.

302 Men, women, and children shave their heads as a rule and let the hair grow at most two inches long between two shavings. One seldom meets a dobonog with the braid coiffure (sémug).

[171] Head and body hair are removed to the same extent and in the same

1. [For a description of these ornaments, see Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 301--Analyst]

/253 cont./

302 manner as among the Masai, but here the eyebrows are also shaved
[171] by both sexes. The nails are cut with an ordinary
[412] two-edged knife. The two middle lower incisors
[304] are not broken out for everyone. Hair and nail
[754] cuttings are thrown away or hidden at some distance from the kraal, so that they will not fall into the hands of an evil sorcerer, who would be able to make from them sorcery leading to a sickness for their former wearer.

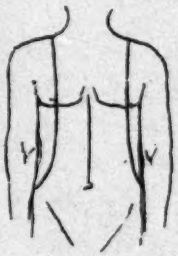
Fig 87.

302 The young men and girls color their entire
531 bodies with a paint made out of fat and red
[386] earth (ol garia), or the former also only legs and lower arms, and then wipe off the color again in serpentine lines
[171] (lama) that run parallel an inch apart. After killing an elephant the happy hunter paints his chest with three lines, the two outer ones of which go from the collarbone over the nipples to the hips, the middle one from the chest to the navel (Fig. 87), or they paint

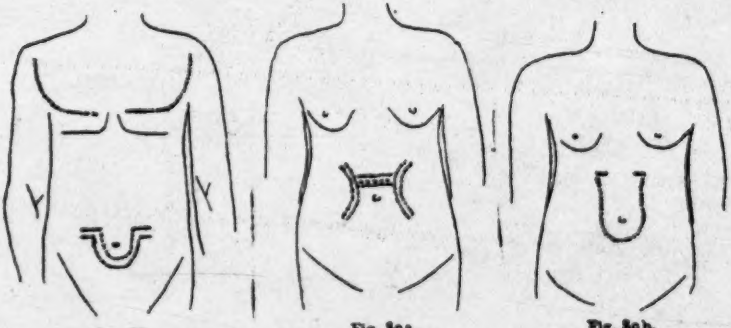
Fig. 88. Fig. 89a. Fig. 89b.

their whole bodies, with the exception of the abdomen, with white
[192] and red stripes (like the Masai warriors). The former painting they call katadiridi, the latter they designate with the Masai word eh gituhguat. At feasts the men draw a line with the powder ol mogoñgora = root, from the upper lip upward over nose and forehead to the hairline. Boys (Fig. 88) and girls (Fig. 89) tattoo the lyre
304 figure /254/ of the Masai, the latter also another similar one on the
171 abdomen. Not infrequently one also finds on the face of the women
[531] the etched-in ol kigerot design, which has been discussed for the Masai.

/254 cont./

X.

Illnesses.

757 For illnesses the Wandoróbo use the same medicines as the Masai
171 and also prepare them in corresponding fashion. Those medicaments that the latter take mixed with milk or blood, the former mix only
276 with water or game bouillon. The Wandorobo are also familiar with
171 the nerve-stimulating agents taken so much by the Masai warriors, but they do not use them in such extensive measure and never in such
164 quantities that fits of rage appear among them. Their designations
192 for the principal illnesses are the following: Headache = sogog agēma = sick head; toothache = ligá agema = sick tooth; cough, ohotu or ạhotu; chest pain, liba agema = sick chest; stomach-ache = waia agema = sick stomach; diarrhea, waia katidji, constipation, waia gischuñgurgue; dysentery allegedly is not supposed to occur. Smallpox, ol maschuggu or ajŏg; chickenpox, simireg. Gonorrheas, damŏg; lues, en ebitiro. Elephantiasis, as well as E. scroti, is said not to occur. Fever, kaĕsegomo; bilious fever, ol odoa. Taeniae, pinibĕg; ascarids,
752 menána. Injured blood vessels are ligated, bone fractures splinted. On burns one puts the soft, plushlike covering of the roots of the ol
[826] dungui bush. Excess fingers and toes are not amputated; they are not
[732] regarded as particularly unsightly.

755 If the well-known medicaments do not help, the patient turns to the ol goiatiki, from whose magic medicine he expects a cure. The
759 surgeon is called asik-asa among the Wandoróbo, the midwife gascha-hatta-hawa-kerint.

/254 cont./

XI.

Interment of the corpse. -- Hereditary succession.

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[171]
[511]
[556] The interment of the corpse differs from the practice customary among the Masai only insofar as the poverty of the Asá affects it. They neither hold a funeral feast nor do they anoint the corpse with fat. Wealthy people, i.e., here such with numerous progeny, are here buried by some, and, to be sure, in the kraal near the hut, so that after death they may hear the conversations of their children and enjoy the fragrance of their meals. All other corpses are simply dragged out of the kraal and put down approximately 100 paces from it. If the corpse has not already been devoured by hyenas the first night, which, moreover, is said not to happen only rarely, since in reality these carrion-eaters roam about the usually foul-smelling camps every night, /255/ then one burns as an offering the residue of the honey beer, consisting of wax particles, beside the corpse. A burial of corpses outside the camp is not customary anywhere.
[782] The prayer beside the corpse of a family father runs here: Uēt, nge gurgurta, nge haga = God, father, give advice, give meat. What
765 was said above about the Masai holds for the mourning.1
171

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[171] In the right of succession the same principles hold as among the Masai. The insignificance of the goods left behind, however, often makes a division among those qualified to inherit impossible, and one can therefore very often observe in practice that the eldest son (of the principal wife) receives the entire inheritance consisting of bows, arrows, and beehives. The latter form the principal part of
[171] the estate and, after the death of a man, are distributed among the sons in the same way as the cattle among the Masai. Just as the latter gives each of his wives a number of cattle to care for and enjoy the use of, the ol doroboni leaves each of his wives a part of his beehives, which the sons of the wife in question then inherit. Widows
768 as a rule join a man of their age class and live with him. Surviving
[583] daughters pass into the possession of the eldest son insofar as the bride price is to be paid to him upon their marriage.

1, [See Masai FL12, 18:Merker, category 765--Analyst]

/255 cont./

XII.

Character of the Asá, compared with that of the Masai.

D 181 [186] In character the Asá in general greatly resemble the Masai, except that the tribal arrogance seems to be considerably lessened as a result of their poverty, though it still also always appears in their contempt of the el meg,[1] whom they call mondo. It is not possible to give a D [177] general opinion about their attitude toward Europeans, since they have actually come into contact with them personally only in exceptional cases and otherwise are acquainted with them only from the accounts of the Masai. On the whole, the Asá living independently stand out favorably from those who have joined the Masai, in that the former seem to be more modest and less crafty, whereas the latter are a match M D 648 for the Masai in audaciousness. The relationship of the two tribes to each other rests on the complete subjugation of the Wandorobo, who see in the Masai their masters and, in major legal disputes, also their judges.

M [326] [564] Exceptions to this are the Masai blacksmiths, who stand as low in the estimation of the Wandorobo as in that of the Masai. The ol kononi D [829] is also completely without rights before the ol doroboni. The Wandorobo appear peaceable toward passing caravans and sedentary Negroes. When D 648 181 they once shot at the former with poisoned arrows, without having been attacked themselves, they seem /256/ to have acted in presumed self-defense; in any case one cannot accuse them of a lust either for war or for murder. With these reservations, what has been said above about D 181 the Masai holds concerning their character traits, their solidarity • 171 against the members of all foreign tribes, the position of their women, [562] etc. Something new to be mentioned here is the custom that I found several times according to which a woman, just because of her inferior position, may not walk through a group of men.

D 576 171 In greeting, the Wandorobo use the same words and formulas as the Masai and accompany them with the same gestures.

The farewell of the one going runs aija matida. The answer to it, adi, is said to mean "go!" To the objection that this is not very courteous, an aged Asá replied: "We are poor people, when the visitor has gone we no longer need give him any of our food!"

1, [A Masai word meaning "the unbelievers"--Analyst]

/256 cont./

802 [801] The Wandorobo only very rarely use number words, since they actually /257/ have nothing to count; the only thing suitable for this would be their beehives, and they do not count them, because -- as several people explained to me -- the bees would then no longer gather honey or -- as others opined -- would die. When, nevertheless, [171] [192] they need number words, they in general use, both in intercourse among themselves and with strangers those that we became familiar with above for the Masai, and, to be sure, in the same way and with the same hand or finger movements. As the people stated, all Asá and also the other Wandorobo use these number words, which seems credible to me since I myself did not meet anyone who was not [439] [192] familiar with them. In addition, in the barter trade with agriculturalists, they have also annexed some of their number words and in part mutilated them into a form more suitable for them. Finally, among [192] the Asá a few have kept their own, which, together with some borrowed from the Tatoga speech, are designated today as their own. They are the following:

1 = kindé.	The index finger of the left hand is extended, the other fingers lie loosely in the hand.
2 = χlam.	Index finger and middle finger of the left hand are extended, the others as before.
3 = sămă or sămăg.	Index finger, middle finger, and next finger of the left hand are extended, the other as before.
4 = hă or hăg.	The four fingers of the left hand are extended, the thumb lies loosely in the hand.
5 = mŭt.	The left hand is closed into a fist.
6 = la.	The same signs as before, but executed with the right hand.
7 = imba.	
8 = isiĕt.	
9 = endurudji.	
10 = agunġan.	
11 = agunġan kinde.	
12 = agunġan χlam.	
13 = agunġan a sama'	(or agunġan a samag).
20 = ditim.	

/257 cont./

802 Their own words seem not to extend any farther. According to the author's observations, the Wandorobo use these number words especially in counting the pieces of game killed on a hunting expedition, the captured elephant tusks and rhinoceros horns.

[192] [171] What was said about the Masai holds for their ability in reckoning. The Wandorobo designate the fingers usually with the names that the Masai have for them. Of their own designations they know only seńgetók for finger and sengelá for the hand.

Ordinals are formed from the basic numbers through the addition of the word sătĭsch or kărătĭsch. The first, kinde satisch; the second, ŭlam satisch; the /258/ third satisch sama'; the fourth, satisch hag; the fifth, satisch mut, or kinde karatisch, ŭlam a karatisch. These [192] [171] designations seem to be used only very rarely, in their place people prefer to use those of the Masai language. The Wandorobo express fractions in a way similar to that of the Masai. For multiplication they use the word sigá. Once is called siga kinde; twice, siga ŭlam; three times, siga sama'; four times, siga hag; five times, siga mut, etc.

805 192 [224] For seasons and months they do not have any designations of their own and even use those of the Masai only very rarely, since they do not know any need for them. Of the days they name only the last one of the month, leheg tagarawasch, on which they do not go hunting. On the other hand, they designate the times of the day with their own words in the following way:

The hour before sunrise, when it is still dark: demog dádi.
As soon as it becomes somewhat light: erená saha.
Sunrise: adjid sauaschasch.
Ten o'clock in the morning: schirahŏg.
Twelve noon: adj'odá.
Two o'clock in the afternoon: sadji foa.
Afternoon, particularly the time up to five o'clock: haia.
The time from five o'clock to sunset: adjid saduisch.
Twilight: tara.
Night: e ramesá.

/258 cont./

805 192 Today is called lɛ́tíl or lɛ́tíla, tomorrow lɛ́pe or lɛ́be, yesterday areach; like the Masai, they have but one word for the day before yesterday and the day after tomorrow, namely, mílek; the next day is called to samag, the one then following to hag; for the days after that the Masai words are used.

XIV.

000 Religion. -- Prayer. -- Supplication feasts. -- Amulets. -- Sorcery. -- Evil eye.

771 191 796 [821] The religious views of the Wandoróbo are identical with those that we have become acquainted with among the Masai,[1] except that they do not call God 'Ng ai, but Uɛ̄d. In songs God is also frequently called the black God, Uɛ̄d kabiassa; on the other hand designations analogous to the Masai expressions for clouds and the redness of the sky are not found here; the former are called adja kabaka, the latter adja kahoma. Of the constellations they know the ones that the Masai also know, and designate them with the same names. They have no pictorial representations of Uɛ̄d, for the same reasons as 782 the Masai. Everyone prays, married people and children at home, the dobonog along the way, if they are afflicted by trouble or illness; in everyday life the dobonog do not pray. The woman prays every morning while making the fire; when her husband and the children see this, they often place themselves beside her and also say a prayer. This always contains only a supplication, never any thanks. A supplication /259/ for protection runs: Uɛ̄d sigima gemiachin; for children, Uɛ̄d nge hawa; for wives, Uɛ̄d nge mai; for meat, Uɛ̄d nge aga; for honey, Uɛ̄d nge agung; for food, Uɛ̄d nge e haiug; for health if one is sick, Uɛ̄d adudere an. They think about the fate of the soul -- 775 [171] in contrast to the Masai -- only very rarely, even the old people. The author met only a few aged Wandoróbo who were able to make statements about this. These coincided with the reports of the Masai.

1. [For information on the religion of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18: Merker, category 116, pp. 268-279--Analyst]

/259 cont./

789 outside the camp in the steppe, or must leave a slain piece of game /260/ outside during the night, they walk around the spot, before the approach of darkness, with a burning twig of the mondeja bush. They assert that if one has done this, no predatory animal can approach.

789 531 411 224 On the bow end held diagonally upward in shooting, one frequently finds a design like a sentry box, which, in the belief of the people, God himself taught them long ago, and which is supposed to have the effect that in hunting they will kill only fat game.

754 [791] The nature of the sorcery through which sickness and death can be brought about they explain like the Masai. Evil, superterrestrial spirits have nothing to do with it. It is solely the work of evil human beings, who are despised, feared, and therefore expelled; they are called schogoto, in which one recognizes the Masai word ol osokutoni. Persons with the evil eye, who are called gallagumma, are likewise hated and expelled. If one knows no natural cause for an illness or a sudden death, it is regarded as the work of these sorcerers.

XV.

000 Law. -- General remarks. -- Property. -- Sharing the hunting booty. -- Things found. -- Barter. -- Debts. -- Liability. -- Gift. -- Blood friendship. -- Murder and manslaughter. -- Negligent homicide. -- Bodily injury. -- Immoral offenses. -- Theft. -- Inquiry about an unknown culprit. -- Legal procedure. -- Swearing. -- Torture. -- Ordeals. -- Bier test. -- Woman before justice. -- Mentally ill.

671 171 The legal views and legal practices of the Asá in general resemble those of the Masai.[1] We find the same leading ideas everywhere. Here, too, might often comes before right, even if not to the same extent as there.

692 [614] There is nothing new to be said about the rights of families and persons. The sole court in litigation is a respected man chosen by both parties, if plaintiff and defendant belong to the same tribe.

[648] Litigation or criminal cases in which plaintiff and defendant belong to two different tribes are not settled by the Wandorobo among themselves, but handed over to the Masai of the nearest kraal for settlement. A prosecution of punishable offenses by legal steps is unknown.

1. [For information on legal views of the Masai, see FL12 Masai, 18:Merker, category 116, pp.279-291--Analyst]

/261 cont./

000 D 431 D 572 is present at all. The heir of the warrantor is also liable. The giver is offended by a refusal to accept a gift. A counter-gift of approximately the same value follows gift-giving. The giver spits upon the gift when he hands it over. The Wandorobo never conclude into blood friendships among themselves, but only -- and, to be sure, very rarely -- with members of other tribes. The ceremony observed for this resembles the one described above among the Masai. If a stranger has bought ivory from him and paid only part of the price, D [177] [426] the ol doroboni often likes to conclude blood friendship with him because he thinks that then the debtor must die if he does not repay the debt as quickly as possible (1).

D [177]

1. This view is in general rare; it was not originally peculiar to the Asá, but adopted.

D 682 628 [171] [672] As among the Masai, the legal view makes no distinction between murder and manslaughter, but indeed between the latter and negligent homicide. A murderer caught in the very act is subject to blood revenge, for the execution of which every man belonging to the family of the one murdered and in some districts also any of his friends and campmates are justified. If the avengers do not succeed in capturing the murderer on the day of the murder, /262/ the latter is safe from blood revenge, for people see in the unsuccessful search for him a command of God to let him live. To atone for his deed, however, he must pay the principal heir of the deceased one large and two small ivory tusks. Negligent homicide is punished by the payment of a medium-sized ivory tusk. If the perpetrator and the one who was killed belong to the same lineage, the punishment is considerably D [648] less than if they are from different lineages of the same tribe. On the other hand, if the two belong to different tribes, the ones entitled to blood revenge often hand over the execution of it to the Masai, who kill the perpetrator, even if they do not capture him until after several months. Up to the completed payment the perpetrator is D M 682 648 regarded as puni-andet, corresponding to the ol oikobani of the Masai. If an Asá kills a Masai blacksmith, the deed remains unpunished because the blacksmiths are too weak for revenge and the Masai would

M [524] [526]

/263 cont./

787 them under his head at night; the next morning he throws the sandals again, this time five times, whereupon he states that the guilty one look thus and so and lives in such and such a camp, etc. If the tusks
789 of a slain elephant are stolen (the hunter does not remove them
685 immediately, but waits until they have been loosened by the decaying
754 of the gums), the one who killed the animal makes magic against the thief by shooting at the head of the elephant several times, using as an arrow the fire-twirling stick. Then he breaks the latter and lays it beside the head. According to the assertions of the Wandorobo, this magic is so effective that the thief must irretrievably die after a few days if he does not deliver the tusks to the owner in all haste -- which is supposed to happen almost always.

695 Only in criminal cases are there legal proceedings, which take
[171] place in the same manner as among the Masai. Every male individual is entitled to take part in them. The ones arriving greet the one
[782] presiding, who is already waiting with a few friends in the shade of a tree near his camp, with the customary greeting and handshake, whereupon the latter opens the meeting with a few of the above-mentioned supplication prayers, Uŋd nge hawa, Uŋd nge mai, Uŋd ngeri' agai and closes it at the end of the deliberation in the same manner.

[171] A swearing of the truth is made with the same gestures and the same words as among the Masai. Besides the latter, the formula, Uŋd kiwēta = may God kill me, is also customary.

[171] To extort confessions one uses the torture customary among the Masai, wrapping a bow string around the upper arm. The Wandorobo call it andoga rasug. In their court sessions the Asá are not acquainted with any ordeals (moŋgg) other than the ones discussed for the Masai. Of these they use the following three: The ordeal of the bow, here gari waschá́á, the ordeal of the dry wood, here kaschingo wagurú, and that of the stool made of earth, which they designate the same as the Masai. The culprit must submit to the ordeal upon the demand of the plaintiff and may not put up a substitute. According to the statements of the Wandorobo, one who is really guilty always confesses before he submits to the ol moŋai, as it is also called here, besides moŋgg, because the belief that otherwise he would die the very next day is unshakably established in the minds of the people. For murder,